THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE Pakistan History Conference

(NINTH SESSION)

HELD AT

HYDERABAD

under the auspices of the

Pakistan Historical Society

1959

Compiled by

DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

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PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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PREFACE

I am glad that we are now in a position to publish the Proceedings of the ninth session of the Pakistan History Conference. The session at Hyderabad was a great success, which was due to a large extent to the untiring work of the staff and students of the University of Sind.

KARACHI :
August, 1962

S. MOINUL HAQ

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Report for the year 1959

By

Dr. S. Moinul Haq, General Secretary,
Pakistan Historical Society

The Ninth Session of the Pakistan History Conference was held in Hyderabad on 24, 25, 26 February, 1959, at the invitation of the University of Sind.

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The inaugural session was held on the 24th February, 1959, at 4-30 p.m. in a specially-constructed pandal within the University premises. After a recitation from the Holy Quran, the welcome address of Allamah I. I. Qazi, Vice-Chancellor and Chairman of the Reception Committee, was read by the Officiating Vice-Chancellor, Professor A. L. K. Shaikh, because of the former's illness. It was followed by the speech of Mr. Fazlur Rahman, President, Pakistan Historical Society. The report of the Society for the year 1958 was read by Dr. S. Moinul Haq, General Secretary, Pakistan Historical Society. The Presidential Address was then delivered by Dr. A. Halim, Professor of History, University of Dacca and President-Elect of the Conference. Dr. N. A. G. Khan, Secretary of the Conference, thanked the guests.

The same evening the students of the University of Sind presented a variety show in the pandal to entertain the delegates and scholars. Besides other items two court scenes from Mughul History relating to the reigns of Akbar and Shah Alam II were also staged.

25 - 2 - 1959

The second session was held in the Senate Hall at 9-30 a.m. and was presided over by Dr. A. Halim. A number of papers

were read. The session adjourned for lunch at 12-30 p.m. It re-assembled at 2-15 p.m. and lasted till 3-15 p.m.

At 7-15 p.m. the delegates and scholars assembled in the pandal to hear a lecture by Mr. J. Y. Bryan, Cultural Affairs Officer, United States Embassy in Pakistan. His lecture on 'Abraham Lincoln' was followed by a film relating to the life of the great American leader.

At 9-30 p.m. an illustrated lecture was delivered by Dr. M. Abdullah Chaghatai on "The Architecture of the Mosque."

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The closing session assembled at 9-30 a.m. in the Senate Hall and lasted till 1 p.m. Before the session closed, Dr. S. Moinul Haq thanked the authorities of the University for inviting the Session of the Conference and the scholars and delegates for attending and reading their papers.

In all 38 papers were received, of these 29 were read at the Conference and the rest were taken as read.

In the afternoon the delegates were taken on an excursion to the following places :—

1. Tomb of Shah Abdul Latif.
2. The Tomb of Makhdum Nuh at Hala, and
3. Ghulam Mohammad Barrage.

After sunset the University arranged a Reception in honour of the delegates. Professor A. L. K. Shaikh thanked the guests and the authorities of the Pakistan Historical Society. Mr. S. M. Jaffar and Dr. N. A. G. Khan also spoke on the occasion. In the end the General Secretary, Dr. S. Moinul Haq, delivered his speech of thanks. He thanked the authorities of the University, particularly Allamah I. I. Qazi, Vice-Chancellor, Prof. A. L. K. Shaikh, Acting Vice-Chancellor and Agha Taj Mohammad, Registrar of the University of Sind. Dr. N. A. G. Khan and other members of the staff and students who took

active interest in making necessary arrangements for the Session.

Finance :

The Society received from the Central Government an annual grant-in-aid of Rs. 47,000/- during the year 1959-60. Besides this the following amounts were realized through other sources :—

(a) Membership fee	... ...	Rs.	269- 8-0.
(b) Subscription of the Journal	...	Rs.	704-10-0.
(c) Sale of Publications	...	Rs.	13,086-13-6.
(d) Donation	... ...	Rs.	100- 0-0.

I need hardly add that our present income is not sufficient to meet our increasing requirements in connection with the expansion of research and publication work. We hope, however, that the Government will pay due consideration to our request for enhancing the grant-in-aid, keeping in view the importance and magnitude of our task.

Research and Publications :

1. *Proceedings* : The proceedings of the sixth Session of the Pakistan History Conference have been published.

2. *A History of Arabic Writing* : The publication of this book was delayed because the author who is now in Austria has made drastic changes in the text as well as the illustrations.

3. Khafi Khan's *History of Alamgir*: Its English translation is ready but we could not send it to the press because of the paucity of funds.

4. *Dictionary of Islam* : The plan has been postponed for the time being.

5. *The Great Revolution of* 1857 : The manuscript is ready for the press but printing has not started because of the paucity of funds.

6. Ibn Khallikan's *Wafayat* : Ibn Sad's *Tabaqat* : The Government has approved our scheme in principle. We have already started work on *Wafayat* and it is hoped that the first volume will be published in the course of this year.

7. *History of Freedom Movement, Vol. II & III* : The book is now ready and will be available some time in February 1960. The third volume will go to the press some time in the middle of this year.

8. *Zakhiratul Khawanin* : The first volume is in the press and will be published within two or three months.

9. Graham's *Life of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan* : This work has been postponed for the time being on account of the paucity of funds.

10. *Sirat al-Nabi* : It has been decided that the first volume of the English translation of Allamah Shibli's well-known work *Sirat al-Nabi* should be published during this year. Mr. Fazlur Rahman has completed his translation of Vol. I.

11. *Hujjatullah-il-Balighah* : The English translation of the first volume has been completed and the work of editing the book is in progress. Efforts are being made to procure funds for the printing of this monumental work. We hope that the book will go to the press shortly.

12. Translation of Dr. Sprenger's *Das Leben Und Die Lahre Des Muhammad* : The work of translation is in progress.

13. Ibn Bajjah's *Ilm al-Nafs* : The English translation by Dr. S. Hassan Masumi is in the press.

14. *Maktubat* of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi : Dr. Fazlur Rahman of the McGill University, Canada, has completed the work and the manuscript is ready for the press. But printing could not be started because of the paucity of funds.

15. *Memoirs* : Dr. Imamuddin's "*Hispano-Arab Libraries*" will be soon ready for publication.

16. *Arabic Science in the West* : The book is in the press and will be ready shortly.

17. *History of the Muslim People of Hind-Pakistan* : This will be a big project. The Society has decided to start work on the preparation of this book from the next financial year. The book will contain 5 volumes and we plan to complete it in 4 to 5 years time.

18. *Judicial System under the Mughuls* : Mr. Justice M. B. Ahmad has revised and enlarged his original work on the subject and submitted the final manuscript to the Society. We propose to send it to the press during the course of this year.

19. *Political Theory* (with emphasis on the Impact of Islam on Western Thinkers) : Dr. J. Lerski, Professor of American History in the University of Karachi, is writing this book for the Society.

Library :

At the end of the year under review the Library had 2383 volumes :—

(1) English	...	...	1088	Volumes.
(2) Urdu	...	...	953	,,
(3) Arabic	...	...	179	,,
(4) Other Languages	...	...	91	,,
(5) Catalogues	...	...	72	,,
		Total :	2383	,,

We have started procuring microfilm copies of rare but important manuscripts pertaining to the problems on which we are carrying on research.

We have received a complete file of *Asr i Jadid*, a well-known Urdu Daily, published from Calcutta during the years 1923-1947. I need not add anything about the utility of the file in connection with the history of the Pakistan Movement. I take this opportunity of thanking Maulana Sha'iq Ahmad Usmani, Editor, for this generous donation to the Society.

Journal :

The Journal is making progress but I am sorry to mention that only a few colleges in the country subscribe to it. I appeal to the scholars and teachers of history to secure complete sets for their respective institutions and libraries. As in the previous years we have received in exchange a number of journals and magazines from different places in Pakistan and other countries.

Meetings and Lectures:

1. The Society gave a Reception in honour of the Orientalists and scholars who came to Pakistan in connection with the Seminar on "Islam in the Modern World", on the 30th January, 1959. The Reception was followed by a paper read by Dr. Von Grunebaum on "East and West in Spain".

2. The Society gave a farewell party to Mr. R. Curiel, Director of Archaeology in Pakistan, on his retirement from service, on 18-2-1959.

3. The Society arranged a lecture of Professor A. L. Basham on "Historical Change in the Sub-continent". The lecture was delivered at the premises of the Society on 2-11-1959.

Among the scholars who visited the Society and consulted books and manuscripts in our library, the following names may be mentioned :—

1. Mr. William Metz (Asia Foundation).
2. Mr. Christopher Von Hollen (American Embassy).

3. Mr. S. M. Ikram.
4. Mr. Abdul Latif Sherwani.
5. Mr. Sharif al-Mujahid.
6. Mufti Intezamullah Shihabi.
7. Mr. Qudratullah.
8. Mr. Sakhawat Mirza (Hyderabad Deccan).
9. Dr. Y. A. Hashmi.
10. Mr. Abdul Qaiyum (University of Karachi).
11. Mr. H. K. Ghazanfar (Urdu College).
12. Maulvi Zafar Ahmad Ansari.
13. Mr. S. Jamiluddin Ahmed.
14. Mr. Mohammad Rahim Chaman.

In conclusion I would like to mention that some scholars and institutions do not send reports about their research activities for inclusion in the statement which we publish every year in the January issue of the *Journal*. I appeal to them to co-operate with the Society in this matter. It is necessary that the scholars and institutions engaged in historical research should have an idea of the work which is being done by others. This will save possible over-lapping of research activities.

I thank the office-bearers and members of the Society and all those scholars who have taken an interest in our work and co-operated with us in our research activities.

—:o:—

WELCOME ADDRESS

By

Prof. A. L. Shaikh, Acting Vice-Chancellor,
University of Sind, Hyderabad

Ladies and gentlemen

I am deeply conscious of the honour which the members of the Pakistan Historical Society have conferred on us by accepting our invitation to hold their ninth session here and likewise to members of the Museum Society who are also holding their ninth session in this place. To the members and the distinguished scholars and delegates, some of whom have come from great distances, I bid a very cordial welcome to this University and I trust that they will find their brief stay here comfortable and they will be able to carry on their deliberations in a congenial atmosphere to successful and profitable conclusions.

It seems to me peculiarly appropriate that this Conference is being held in a city which, with its surrounding region, is very rich in historic associations, and which has been the scene of great ancient civilizations dating back to three thousands years or more and which has been the meeting place of diverse cultures and traditions. Mohon-jo-daro is witness of a civilization which is perhaps as old as the Egyptian civilization. Here was the gatesway through which Islam entered this sub-continent in the very early days of its great glory and it continued to be an important link in the highway which connected culture and commerce between the Muslims of the sub-continent and their brother Muslims in the West—particularly the countries of Arabia, Iraq and Iran while time has effaced many of the external signs of the past, abundant traces of it are found still in the manners, customs and traditions of the people inhabiting this region today. If you see them today particularly those in the distant rural and hilly regions, you begin to feel that centuries have hardly made any change in their habits, food, dress etc.

As a Muslim country, we should take greater interest in the pursuit of historical studies, for the Quran which is the source of our culture, treats History as a manifestation of God's law and makes significant references to the history of ancient nations, by way of illustrating and explaining this law in its application to man, both as an individual and as a member of a community.

The Quran and the teachings of the Holy Prophet provided such a great impetus to Muslims in the study and writing of history, that they soon became pioneers and world leaders in this branch of learning as in so many other branches. They were the first to write universal Histories and historical biographies, and the maintaining of records of historical facts and events was regarded as a worthy and essential occupation. Beginning with Ibn Uqba's life of the Prophet and Abu Mikhnaf's monograph on important events, they went on to write such historical works as the Kitabul Maarif of Ibn Qutaibia which begins with the story of creation and includes, the history of Persian kings and Jewish prophets. Wherever the Muslims went, they prepared records of past and current events which remain till today most valuable sources of information about those people and their time.

It is significant to observe that this work was done in a broad intellectual spirit treating the whole human race as one, rising above the barriers of race, geography, and national frontiers. Entire humanity was treated as one brother-hood and parochial interests and national prejudices were not allowed to mar the vision of the historian nor deflict his pen in pursuing the path of truth. It is our duty as Muslims to shed narrowness of vision and rise to a broad and sympathetic understanding of the currents of human history for Islam teaches us to break the barriers of race, geography and national frontier I trust the great scholars assembled here will make a serious effort to revive the great ideals which guided both the student and the scholar in historical pursuit.

I will also add that in this rapidly changing world, historical work has changed very significantly both in its content and outlook.

During the past few decades there has been almost a revolution in the pursuit of historical studies which mirrors the upheavals which are rocking the world today. History is no longer a chronicle of datas and kings with humanity providing only a faded background of this picture. Today humanity is very much in the forefront of this picture and history is becoming a picture—a moving picture I should say—of the life and achievement of humanity in all their numerous spheres of activity, social economic, intellectual, moral and spiritual rendering the task of the historian an extremely complex and difficult one. Then the work of right interpretation of this historical material so as to provide wisdom for the future and to build a spirit of tolerance, mutual understanding and co-operation beween peoples and nations of the world is an even more difficult task. And this, as far as I can set it, the work before you in this Conference. I fervently trust and pray that God may grant success to you in this great and noble effort.

—:o:—

During the past few decades there has been a vast revolution in the concept of historical studies which mirrors the upheavals which are rocking the world today. History is no longer a chronicle of dates and kings with humanity providing only a faded background to the picture. Today humanity is very much in the foreground of this picture and history is becoming a picture—a moving picture I should say—of the life and achievement of humanity in all their numerous spheres of activity, social, economic, intellectual, moral and spiritual rendering the task of the historian an extremely complex and difficult one. Then the work of right interpretation of this historical material so as to provide wisdom for the future and to build a spirit of tolerance, mutual understanding and co-operation between peoples and nations of the world is an even more difficult task. And this, as I understand, is the work before you in this Conference. I fervently trust and pray that God may grant success to you in this great and noble effort.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

By

Mr. Fazlur Rehman

President, Pakistan Historical Society

Ladies and Gentlemen

It gives me great pleasure to be amongst you after a lapse of two years ; I was unable to attend the Eighth Session of the Conference held last year at Peshawar. I am glad to find some new delegates to the Session, who are attending our Conference for the first time. I welcome them as well as our old colleagues and co-workers who have been attending the previous sessions and making valuable contributions to our deliberations.

In the Session of 1957 I had announced that the Society had undertaken the preparation of a single volume History of the War of Independence, 1857. This task was entrusted to Dr. S. Moinul Haq ; for unavoidable reasons he could not start work until late in that year. I am glad to be able to say that he has nearly finished the work and the book will go to the press next summer. Our scheme for a book on the Life of the Holy Prophet is progressing but not quite as fast as one would wish it to be. It is a stupendous task, and so much has been written on the subject that it would take us a pretty long period to accomplish it. Nor would it be advisable to do it in a hurry, because we want our work to be both comprehensive and authoritative. We have secured a photo-stat copy of the fragment of Ibn Ishaq's *Sirah* from the Qarawin (Fez) ; we are working on it and propose to edit and publish it with explanatory notes. Steps have also been taken to get the well-known work of Dr. Sprenger on the life of the Prophet translated into English. We are also negotiating with two Italian orientalists for a translation of Professor Caetani's *Annalli dell Islam* (first two volumes). We have already translated into English Goldziher's Muhammadan Studies. The translation

of some of these classical works is necessary for our research work ; it may be added that most of the misunderstandings and misinterpretations which are frequently repeated by non-Muslim writers can be traced to these classics.

I would now like to address ourselves to the most important and immediate question before us as students of history. Our great misfortune since 1953 has been that instead of integrating ourselves into one solid people by directing our efforts into channels which lead to national consciousness, we wasted our energies in encouraging the growth of parochialism. Most of our public men, during this period, whom circumstances threw up into a position of governing the country, did not possess qualities essential for competent leadership. The result was that the work of national reconstruction which was started by Qaid-i-Azam and so ably continued by Qaid-i-Millat, received a set-back. A number of social evils crept into our society and our life fell into a sort of vicious circle. In the past few years the people of the two wings had begun to feel as if they had no other ties excepting that they had been brought together by the accident of partition. How dangerous this tendency was cannot be easily realized. Pakistan would have become a divided house with a thick wall separating the two parts—a wall much thicker in its evil consequences than the 1500 miles that lie between its two wings. To win cheap and ephemeral popularity some of our political leaders emphasized linguistic, racial and geographical differences. Urdu and Bengali were presented as two rivals never to be able to shake hands.

Now that the political situation has changed and circumstances are favourable to put a stop to anti-social and anti-national activities, let us give our thought to the most vital problem of our life—Pakistan nationalism. We have to remember that our concept of nationhood in one fundamental respect is different from that of the Western peoples. One geographical boundary, common descent, common history, common language and common institutions constitute the main ingredients of nationhood according to western ideas. With us the most

fundamental element of nationalism is Islam. I say 'Islam' and not 'religion' because Islam is an all-comprehensive code of life, which caters for man's spiritual requirements on the one hand, and his needs and aspirations in this world on the other. When the Founder of Pakistan was preaching to the people the two-nation idea he was referring to one of the basic facts of our life. The demand for Pakistan was a demand for a homeland of the Muslims. Usually the geographical boundaries of a country make its people into a nation; in our case the process has been otherwise : geographical limits have been carved out by the necessity of finding a homeland for a people bound by the strong ties of common faith, common culture and traditions, common urge for freedom and common sufferings inspired by common allegiance to Islam. This is an important fact of our history and we shall have to remember it. To forget it will be an act of sin, and the punishment for that sin will be severe.

I would like to make myself more clear. The first great empire of the Muslims—the Sultanate of Delhi—was founded in the first decade of the thirteenth century. By that time the entire north Hind-Pakistan had passed under Muslim rule. The territories of Sind and the north-west frontier in the west and Bengal in the east owed allegiance to the same authority, namely the Sultan of Delhi, and were governed by the same system of administration. A century later the Deccan and the extreme south of the sub-continent also became parts of the Sultanate. Dynastic changes and political upheavals and revolutions in different parts of the Empire were by no means infrequent, but these did not mean any change in the system of administration or political outlook of the people. The Sultanate of Delhi, like so many other States in the world of Islam, was in theory a part of the Caliphate. However powerful a prince or head of a State might be, he had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Caliph. Even after the fall of Baghdad and the end of the caliphal Government the mighty Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq was anxious to obtain the Caliph's *Mansur* legalizing his accession to the throne; even during the period when the Abbasid

power was on its decline, powerful Sultanates like those of the Saljuqs and the Ghaznawids had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Caliph. Most of you know the story of Sultan Mahmud's attempted threat to the Caliph. He had threatened to attack Baghdad with a corps of elephants. But when the Caliph replied him by referring to the first verse of "*Surah-i-fil*" the Sultan kept quiet and felt repentant on his defiance of the supreme authority.

The most significant aspect of this phase of the history of Islam was that wherever a Muslim State was founded it was ruled by *Shariah.* However powerful or despotic a ruler might be, he could not over-ride the *Shariah.* No doubt there have been cases of the defiance of *Shariah* by certain rulers, but these were only exceptions and never was such a prince supported by the people in his defiant attitude towards the *Shariah.* Akbars' attempts at deviation from the path of *Shariah* brought almost immediate reaction in the form of a movement which was led by Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind and Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muḥaddi<u>th</u> Dehlavi. The latter confined his efforts to teaching and encouraging the study of *ḥadi<u>th</u>* which he thought could bring the Muslims back to the fold of *Shariah* from which they had been getting away under the influence of Akbar's unrestricted latitudinarianism. But the Mujaddid took a more definite stand. Besides condemning schismatic tendencies among the Muslims he preached the supremacy of the *Shariah* and made remarkable contribution to Islamic thought by proving that Sufistic ideas and practices were and might be in conformity with the *Shariah*; and those persons, however great, who ignored its supremacy were going astray from the right path. His letters deeply influenced the outlook and conduct of leading personalities to whom they were addressed and through them the court circles and the Emperor himself. Other sections of the people were also influenced by his ideas. We find this in the changed policy and attitude of Akbar's successors. The Mujaddid's achievement in this respect has not been properly assessed by the historians. The Pakistan Historical Society has, therefore, decided to bring

out an abridged edition of the Shaikh's *Maktubat* with a detailed introduction and critical notes.

The *Shariah* then was the guiding code of our life throughout the long centuries of Muslim rule in Hind-Pakistan, it taught the Muslims how to live and behave in life. Consequently a common pattern of life developed among the Muslims irrespective of the part of the sub-continent in which they lived. This unity in our political, social and religious life was strengthened by another important phenomenon of our history. It is now a recognized fact that the message of Islam was conveyed to the people by the Sufi-Shaikhs. The Emperors and political leaders were interested primarily in the extension of political dominion. Few of them realized that they could have rendered a great service to the people if they had followed the policy of the early heroes of Islam, who succeeded in winning large populations to their way of life. The Indian rulers on the other hand suffered under a complex and did not take any direct interest in the spread of Islam; they had a very false conception of tolerance. To tell the people effectively what you consider to be true and good is not bigotry. The early conquerors of Islam were no bigots but by precept and by action they presented Islam to the people with whom they came into contact and the result was that large populations accepted the new Faith.

However, this short-coming in our rulers and politicians was made up to a large extent by the Sufi-Shaikhs who spared no effort, great or small, to tell the people what Islam meant and show them by practice how it could elevate the standard of human values if it was rightly practised. These Sufis, in most cases, dissociated themselves from politics and devoted their entire lives to the service of the common man. They did not only make themselves accessible to the poor, but also chose for themselves a life of poverty. They did not fear opposition because they could rely on the sterling virtues which they developed in their character. Ajmer was, for instance, a purely Hindu region when Hadrat Khwajah Muinuddin Chishti adopted

it as his permanent abode. What made the Shaikh leave his home in Sijistan and come to a Hindu land to settle permanently? A reply to this query is found in the following words of the author of the *Siyar-al-Aulia*, one of the most authentic works on the lives of the early Shaikhs of the Chishti *Silsilah*. He writes, "Another miracle was that the country of Hindustan which until his arrival was the land of infidelity and image worship has... due to the august advent of that sun of the faithful, who in reality is *Muin-al-Din* (helper of the faith),.........become illumined with the light of Islam" (Pers. Text, p. 47). Another writer adds: "In thousands the young and old came before him and embraced Islam." (*Khazinatul Asfiah*, p. 259). With the passage of time the *silsilahs* of the Sufis began to spread far and wide and numerous persons accepted the new faith at their hands. Writing about Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib, a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia, Prince Dara Shukoh says, "The Shaikh (Nizamuddin Aulia) sent him (Burhanuddin) to Burhanpur to popularize Islam in that region.........Most of the people accepted Islam there at his hands." In East Bengal Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi's name deserves mention; Ibn Battutah who had the privilege of meeting him clearly says that most of the people of the area embraced Islam at his hands. He also adds that he saw crowds of Hindus and Muslims in his *Khanqah*, who had come to see him and had brought presents for him. The Shaikh, however, used to distribute the presents among the poor. He left his home and covered long distances to reach Delhi and from there went to Bengal which he made his permanent abode. Almost no work has been done on this aspect of the achievement of the Sufis, and I have every hope that our scholars would devote their attention to this problem and start researches on it. Besides winning converts to Islam the Sufi Shaikhs guided the Muslims towards a way of life which was to be in conformity with the noblest principles of Islamic ideology. The *Shariah* and the *Tariqah*, as the Sufistic path of life was termed, became the main guides of Muslims. They were thus provided with common traditions and a way of life in addition to common history.

To a westerner in whose eyes faith is the private concern of an individual, it looks rather odd that religious beliefs and practices should have anything to do with the evolution of nationalism. But whatever might be the western concept of nationalism, for the Muslims, and particularly their community in the sub-continent, religion is the strongest of the forces that have made them into a nation. It was this force that obliged the British politicians on the one hand and the Hindu leaders of the Congress on the other to recognize the two nation idea and agree to the plan of partition based on it. Geographical contiguity has some advantages but we do not consider it as a basic element of nationalism. The great error of those politicians who laid emphasis on regionalism was that they attached too much importance to the element of geographical unity and common language, ignoring the significance of common faith and common traditions of culture and common values flowing from it.

To make ourselves into a consolidated nation we have to look back on our history and shape our programme of life in the light of the lessons that we learn from it. Perhaps I need not remind my learned audience that our great thinker, Shah Waliullah, realized that efforts should be made to make the Muslims conscious of their being a political entity : this was why he started preparing the Muslims to unite themselves into a single people and resist the attacks of disruptive forces like the Marathas and the Jats. His work was continued, both in the intellectual and practical fields, by his successors. The famous Sayyid Ahmad Shahid was the pupil and disciple of Shah Waliullah's distinguished son, Shah Abdul Aziz. Sayyid Ahmad Shahid launched his war in the North-West against the Sikhs. The Sikhs were playing havoc with the Muslims of territories which now form part of West Pakistan. Sayyid Ahmad came from the Uttar Pradesh province of Bharat ; the majority of his followers belonged to that province, Bihar and Bengal. What interest could the people living in Bengal have in the politics of the Sikh State unless they felt that they belonged to the same fraternity as did the Muslims of the Punjab and the North-West ? The *Jihad* movement was thus directed against the tyrannies of

the Sikhs over the Muslims of West Pakistan, but the movement was organized and the war was fought by Muslims from such distant places as Bengal. These people covered thousands of miles and suffered indescribable hardships to save the Muslims of the west simply because they were inspired by the same faith and the same ideal. These are hard facts of history which no one can undo and which every one will do well to remember.

History has always played a silent role in the making of nations. If our children in the west are told how the Muslims of Bengal shared the sufferings and tribulations of their ancestors, who were faced with extermination, they are bound to feel themselves as part and parcel of the same nation.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In the present stage of our national life, the historian can make an invaluable contribution towards the growth and consolidation of our nation. Within a limited circle, our Society is doing its bit : we have before us a number of projects :—

I. (a) *A History of the Freedom Movement* (4 *volumes*) : At my instance as Minister for Education, the Government of Pakistan appointed a Board of Editors for the preparation of this book. The Chairman, Members and Secretary of the Board are among the chief workers of the Pakistan Historical Society. The Society has now the responsibility of printing and publishing the book. As you are aware the first volume of the book was published in 1957 ; the second volume is in the press, and we hope the remaining two volumes will be completed within two years.

(b) *The History of the Great Revolution of 1857* will be a detailed study of an important aspect of our struggle for freedom. It is a pity that the movement has not been studied in its correct perspective. It was a country-wide movement sponsored and mainly organized by the *Shaikhs* and *Ulama*. They were supported by the masses ; but it failed because influential zamindars and ruling chiefs supported the British. We hope the book will be ready for the press next summer.

II. I stated in one of my earlier speeches that the establishment of the Muslim rule in India and the spread of Islam in the sub-continent are just parts of a world-movement, and have to be studied in that context. I am glad that Dr. I. H. Qureshi, who is our Vice-President, has written a book on the origin and development of the Muslim community. The book will be a link in the works that we propose to publish in this connection.

III. As I have stated the Sufis have made an immense contribution to the spread of Islam ; their share in the growth and development of the common culture and traditions of the Muslims of the sub-continent has also been remarkably great. We have therefore decided to prepare suitable books on the lives, teachings and works of the founders of various Sufi *Silsilahs* and individual Shaikhs. An abridged but well-edited text of the *Maktubat* of Haḍrat Mujaddid Sahib and the translation of Shah Waliulluh's *Hujjutullah il Balighah* are already in hand and work on them is progressing.

But the task of presenting these problems of our history is so enormous that a number of historians will have to devote their labours to it. Besides research works on various aspects of these problems we would welcome short treatises and brochures dealing with the lives and work of various leaders and containing accounts of important episodes from our history to show how the Muslims of the regions now covered by the two wings of Pakistan have fought side by side in the struggle for freedom and that they have a common history, common traditions and a common ideology—forces which can easily make of us a strong and consolidated nation.

With these words I have the pleasure of inaugurating the Ninth Session of the Pakistan History Conference.

II. I stated in one of my earlier speeches that the establishment of the Muslim rule in India and the spread of Islam in the sub-continent are [illegible] parts of a single movement, and have to be studied in that context. I am glad that Dr. I. H. Qureshi, who is our Vice-President, has written a book on the origin and development of the Muslim community. This book will be a link in the books that we propose to publish in this connection.

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But the task of presenting these problems of our history is so important that a number of [illegible] will have to be [illegible] to it. Besides research works on various aspects of these problems we would also need short treatises and brochures dealing with the [illegible] work of [illegible] and containing accounts of important episodes from our history to show how the Muslims of the regions now covered by the two wings of Pakistan have fought side by side in the struggle for freedom and that they have a common history, common traditions and a common ideology—[illegible] which can easily make of us a strong and consolidated nation.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Dr. A. Halim, M.A., Ph.D.

Professor of History, University of Dacca.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Executive Committee of Pakistan Historical Society for electing me President of its annual session twice within the last five years. I am aware of my shortcomings, particularly when I am charged with speaking things appertaining to the whole field of researches on the History of Islam in general and of Pakistan in particular.

Researching in history was never paying a proposition. James Anthony Froude, one of the foremost English historians would not allow his son choose his father's profession because the pecuniary returns from history-writing did not suffice for a modest living. Another brilliant English historian received less per hour than the wages of an unskilled manual labourer. Gibbon and Macaulay could not have written their epoch-making histories if they did not possess private means to fall back upon.

But the above picture does not minimise the important role history has played or will play. It is no longer an art of painting a picture for glorifing the deeds of heroes, as the Greeks conceived, or detailed time-chart embodying narrative of events in close chronological order as the early Arabs thought, or a collection of biographies as Carlyle opined. It is at present, a full science and it is a matter of pride for us, that it was Ibn Khaldun, a Muslim Historian (14th century A.D.) who gave expression to this idea. It was not till the 18th century that the idea gained ground in Europe, that the task of the historian was not so much to paint a picture as to solve a problem, to explain and illustrate the successive phases of national growth, prosperity and adversity. Buckle was the first English historian, who, after Ibn Khaldun

appeared as the chief exponent of a new school which ascribes to events a long chain of causes extending over many centuries, making the growth of nations depend on the growth of intellectual habits, the rise and depression of different classes, the changes that take place in the distribution of wealth, the inventions that alter the course or character of industry or commerce or reverse the relative advantages of different nations in the competition for life.

Exactitude in the results of historical investigation, I may warn our young historians, is difficult to attain for the simple reason that history is a recovery of the past and new knowledge coming in the wake of anthropological, archaeological and such other scientific investigations is changing our conception of events, personalities and cultures almost daily and hourly in such a manner that nothing can be accepted as final. How surprised our remote ancestors would have been if they were brought into life and asked to recognize their own history prepared by a modern historian. Secondly, they should not judge the past with the standard of the present nor should indulge too much in analogies forgetting the gap that time has created between the present and the past. An intelligent study of history is the surest corrective against such ideas. Students of history should endeavour to understand the dominant ideas of the people under study in a particular period, the guiding principles that chiefly influenced them and the forces that were either in ascendancy or in decline. When it is studied in this perspective, history furnishes a key to the past and an admirable discipline to the judgement of the present.

Turning to our own problems, I may point out that in my last presidential address, I had drawn the attention of our scholars to the subjects of research to which our team of scholars could profitably turn their attention. Since then, it seems we have made considerable progress. The Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi, has been able to print the first of the four volumes of the History of Freedom Movement and the second volume is in the press. We have been able to print the

proceedings of the annual sessions of the society with the exception of those of Karachi, Dacca and Peshawar. The translation of the Tadhkirat-ul-waqiat of Jawhar Aftabchi by Dr. S. Moinul Huq has come out as one of the Historical Society publications and let us hope that an English translation also follows in near future for the use of scholars not conversant with Urdu. Others, which have already seen the light of print, are (1) The dreams of Tipu Sultan, translated into English by Dr. Mahmud Hussain (2) Translation of Dr. Hasan Ibrahim's 'Alam-ul Islam under the heading Mashahir-ul-Islam', (3) Persian text and Urdu translation of Tarajimul Fudala of Allama Fadl-i-Imam; (4) Islamic State of Pakistan by E. Birnbaum, (5) Memoirs of Hakim Ahsanullah Khan, reminiscent of the days of the Mutiny and last but not the least, (6) the reprint of Dr. I. H. Qureshi's Administration of the Delhi Sultanate with additional notes and materials. The quarterly Journal of our Society is slowly establishing its place as an authoritative organ of research and I felt quite flattered when a young teacher of the University of Tokyo told me that he was a regular subscriber of the Pakistan Historical Society's Quarterly Journal and showed me the articles which he appreciated. Coming to the eastern wing of our country, it may be mentioned that the issues of the Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan which contains a good many articles on history, are earning popularity outside Pakistan. Judging from the titles of research problems being tackled by our old and new scholars, as given in the appendix of the Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, one feels gratified to see that in spite of difficulties presented by the paucity of historical materials and good reference libraries in our country, our scholars are going ahead. In the first place, I must mention that though it is possible to get a fair picture of what our students and teachers are doing in the field of historical research, there is still some room for better co-ordination because the people in the eastern wing of the country do not know what the learned bodies in the western wing are doing and the opposite holds true. May I plead that a list of learned bodies fostering historical research be published through the Pakistan Historical Society and secondly annual reports or summaries of their

activities be incorporated in the last number or the first number of the Journal each year ?

Though there is some room for complacency in the matter of our researches, I would like to sound a note of warning. What we have been able to achieve till now is due to the efforts of the old generation of our scholars and in future our output is bound to deteriorate unless we take timely steps to train up the young generation of our researchers. Undoubtedly the number of students offering history in all Universities of out country has increased but how many of them pass out with requisite qualifications for undertaking research works ? I can say this from my experience in East Pakistan that interest in the study of classical languages *viz.* Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit has waned to such an extent (I can not blame the studentt because so many alternative subjects are offered by School Board) that most of the students who come up for the highest University degree, do not possess even a working knowledge of those languages and cannot play their proper role in continuing the study of the history of their own country and have to depend on secondary materials prepared by foreign scholars, quite a lot of which are out of date. On the other hand, those who go in for classical literature do not turn their attention to history. This situation will have a telling effect upon the future. In the Universities of the occident, a student has to study a foreign language, allied to the subject of his study and in my opinion, the enforcement of this condition will improve the quality of our scholars and make them real assets, well-suited for historical researches. I would earnestly plead before this learned audience, many of whom are associated in one way or other with our Universities, that this feature be introduced in the curriculum for the B.A.Honours, M.A. and Ph.D. courses, so that a student who comes to study Islamic History and Mediaeval Pak-Indian History should have to learn Arabic and Persian respectively and those who go in for ancient Pak-Indian History or Modern European or American History should have knowledge of Sanskrit or Pali and French or German respectively. And in

future when we have the necessary opportunity, knowledge of Portuguese or Dutch will have to be enforced on those doing British period of Pak-Indian History at the post-graduate stage. This may sound rather revolutionary to our ears but there will be no difficulty in arranging coaching in Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic and Persian because the Oriental Departments exist almost in all the Universities of our Country. The University of Dacca possesses the facility for teaching Pre-Muslim History of Pak-India and other Universities which do not possess this should concentrate on Mediaeval or Modern history. Secondly, I suggest that our Universities introduce the M.A. Course with thesis by which I mean that students offering a thesis will get exemption from 50 p.c. of the written papers prescribed in the course without omitting the basic ones. This will give a few serious students of history an opportunity to get a training in researches and they will have less difficulties to pursue their work at the Ph.D. stage than at present.

Secondly, knowing as I do the difficulties of a teacher in combining research with duties of teaching, I would plead for more facilities for those actually engaged in research by reducing their teaching load and offering them generous leave conditions. Another way of widening the avenues of research would be the creation in our Universities of the posts of Research Professors of History, who will exclusively devote their time and attention to guiding researches.

Thirdly, considering the progressive shrinkage of opportunities to our students for admission into the various Universities of U. K. and America (because they too have to cater to the needs of their own pupils who are coming in increasingly large numbers) something has to be done to stop this west-ward flow and save some foreign exchange. In my opinon students going for the Ph.D. Course in History and Oriental subjects should be asked to enrol themselves in their own Universities and if they need consult source materials lying in the libraries of the west, they should be allowed to proceed to those places on short visit at a time when

weather conditions are less severe and be made to come back after collecting their materials or giving finishing touches to their thesis. This can be done if facilities are provided with the co-operation of our missions abroad and the governments of the countries to be visited. This will not apply to students who go abroad with scholarships provided by foreign foundations. The staff position in our own universities will have to be improved to provide adequate teaching to Honours and post-graduate students. In this connection the cultural treaties we have concluded with Islamic countries may be taken full advantage of, so that our scholars may visit the libraries in Islamic countries of the Middle East. We have also to provide scholarship to students coming to study history in our Universities from those countries and in my opinion at least two such scholarships for the present be created by our Universities. With a view to encouraging historical studies and researches, may I suggest that the cases of historians and artists such as painters, singers and instrumentalists be also taken along with poets and story-writers in the matter of the award of prizes by our respected President? In addition to these I would suggest that a Central Institute for Historical Researches be opened for the present in the City of Karachi with a good reference library containing historical manuscripts microfilmed or otherwise, procured from abroad. Such an institution, call it Academy if you like, can conveniently be attached to the Central Archives and Library Department of the Government of Pakistan but should function as a separate unit. If it is found to be difficult, the Pakistan Historical Society may expand its activities to undertake the additional responsibilities. Later on, two branches of the same may be opened one in East and the other in West Pakistan.

Turning to specific problems of researches, I would refer to a few aspects with the utmost brevity. It is time that we turn to the study of the history of Islam in the early middle ages, for though pioneering work has been done by western scholars, no body can properly understand the culture and heritage of Islam better than the Muslims. This will appear to be rather

difficult in view of the paucity of materials in our country and the smaller number of people capable of carrying on fruitful researches. We cannot, these days, think of producing anything original unless our scholars have grounding in Arabic and Persian and possess, in addition, working knowledge of German, French, Italian and Spanish. Yet, I may say that much attention has not been paid to the theories and practices of Islamic finance during the various periods of the Khilafat and no work of any merit has come to us since Aghnides wrote his famous book (Muhammadan theories of Finance) many decades back. Each of the items of finance, kharaj, ushr, Jiziya, Khums require clear illustration and a study may be made of the institution of Zakat. I may say this just in passing that during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi collection of Zakat was the responsibility of the state and even the cultivators had to pay it in cash or kind. An attempt may be made to find out how far its collection by the state led to the improvement of cultural and philanthropic institutions. More efforts need be concentrated on the study of social, economic and cultural institutions of Islam in their proper perspective. Necessary attention in my opinion has not been paid to the history of the local dynasties.

As far as the history of our own country is concerned, to cite one or two examples, I feel that the history of the fifty years included in the reign of Akbar requires to be re-investigated for the fact that Dr. Smith could not have consulted the principal source materials some of which are coming to light now. He also did not do justice to the cause of Mughal history by accepting the testimony of Jesuit writers and the bardic and legendary sources collected by Col. Tod in preference to the contemporary written testimonies. To this list, may I add that none of the researchers has cared to undertake investigation into the study of the history of Mughal Navy a subject which may reveal important aspects of our history hitherto unknown.

In conclusion, I must say that the most precious lesson of history is the moral one. The permanent political well-being is

essentially the outcome of the moral state of its citizens. Its foundation is laid on pure domestic life, commercial integrity, high standard of morality, worth in public spirits, in simple habits, in courage, uprightness and self-sacrifice, in certain soundness and moderation of judgement which springs quite as much from character as from intellect. If you would form a wise judgement, observe carefully whether these qualities are increasing or decreasing and observe also what qualities count most in public life.

Thank you ladies and gentlemen for giving me a patient hearing.

Lincoln's Life,—A Portrait of The U.S.A.

By

Dr. J. Y. Bryan

Travel in 36 countries around the world has convinced me that, even though something is known about American history everywhere, few people do have an accurate, rounded picture of the United States. Nearly everyone has assumed that one of several stereotyped images sufficiently represents that country.

One of the most common is the business image, which assumes that all American worship the Almighty Dollar. Another favorite is the tourist image, which takes it for granted that all Americans are rather dazed, irresponsible people with excellent intentions but no clear idea of what they are doing. Others give precedence to the G.I. image, which pictures America as made up of amiable rowdies. Common, too, is the newspaper and magazine image, for American self-criticism leads to the assumption that nearly all Americans misbehave nearly all the time. Worst of all is the Hollywood image, which misleads us in so many ways that, surely, no comment is needed before such a society as this.

Of course, each of these stereotypes contains certain truths which can be verified by any visitor to America. But each is at the same time so partial that it is false. Each resembles a report from the blind men who felt different parts of the elephant, one being convinced that the creature was like a tree trunk, another a wall, another a rope, another a fan, and so on.

It is possible, however, through study of one individual, Abraham Lincoln, to identify an enormous amount that is deeply true about the United States and its history. We shall find that Lincoln provides a remarkably inclusive and reliable image of the U.S.A.

This is not to say that he was a typical American, even though the biographies of great numbers of his countrymen resemble his in that a rise from impoverished childhood to envied fame is an American commonplace. In important respects, Lincoln was unique. He was one of the most singular men the human race has produced. But he was at the same time so representative of the United States that the story of his life is full of echoes of the story of his country during its growth and development. I ask you this evening to review with me the facts leading to this conclusion.

He was born 150 years ago this month—in February 1809. Historical forces happened then to be at work which in time would require greatness of more than one American who was to grow up during the next half century. The mightiest powers of Europe were engaged in the final acts of an enormous drama, a World War which imposed death upon millions of men in every part of the globe, a drama staged from Portugal to Russia in Europe, staged widely here in the Sub-Continent as well, staged also in Africa, the Indies and at last in America from 1812-1815.

What gave this gruesome play fervor and boundless significance was that, behind it, two opposite human impulses were in motion on an enormous scale: the impulse toward freedom and that toward subjugation of people under imperial rule. Napoleon, himself a product and a symbol of these contrary impulses, was at the height of his power. Contumacious Britain, his one unwavering, implacable enemy, was challenging him on the Spanish Peninsula, and the Austrian Empire was in the process of receiving fresh humiliation before his cannon.

In America the President of the United States was Thomas Jefferson, democracy's chief philosopher and its most brilliant exponent before Lincoln reached manhood. He had just three weeks more to serve in the White House on that day when Lincoln received the gift of life in the wilderness of Kentucky. Jefferson was using all his talents to withhold America from involvement in the Napoleonic tragedy, for his nation itself was an infant, weak, poor, ignorant and hungry.

In fact Lincoln and America were pretty much alike. The origins of both were lowly. America was settled largely by the poor and oppressed of many lands, and among these nameless settlers were forebears of Lincoln who had migrated across the Atlantic because hard-pressed to make a living in the Old World, eager to gain more freedom, hopeful of opportunities which the class distinctions of the Old World denied them. The Lincolns were simple people of the kind who came in millions to America's shores to create a better life.

Nearly everyone who has learned anything about Lincoln knows that he began life in a log cabin. It was about on a par with huts first occupied by refugees in Karachi. It has only one room, a single window covered by skin rather than glass, and one door hanging on leather hinges. It had in it very few comforts.

Yet amazingly few people know that Lincoln was better off than many boys of his generation. His father owned 584½ acres of land and ranked high among the 98 people in that precinct possessing enough substance to be on the tax list. Indeed, he ranked 15th on that list. In economic advantage he was well within the upper one-fifth, the top 15 per cent. In other words, the sort of poverty Lincoln knew was widespread in America. It was the common lot.

Why this should be easy to understand. His contemporaries had poor, unproductive tools; therefore they themselves were unproductive and consequently poor. But they were better off than the savages they displaced. Indeed, that is why they were *able* to displace them. Skeletons found over vast areas in America show that most tribes were bitterly familiar with hunger. Malnutrition was widespread among them. The land which is now the continental United States never supported more than 800,000 people before Columbus arrived, and some anthropologists say not more than 400,000. The reason was that neither their tools nor their work habits were of a kind which would feed many more. Thus America was not found a land of plenty; it had to be made one.

Growing skill at tools among the migrants from Europe, together with much more productive habits of work, was what started that land upon its toilsome, difficult, fascinating journey toward plenty. Whereas the indigines used only the simplest hand tools, the newcomers brought implements powered by domesticated animals. That in itself assured them of ability to till far more land and therefore to support far more people.

In the Lincoln family, too, skill at the use of tools was a crucial factor. Lincoln's father, in addition to being a farmer, was a carpenter and a mechanic. He also possessed a meagre mastery over that best of all tools, the pen, and its associate, the book. He could read and write, and he wanted his children to read and write. But it was the cash he earned as a carpenter that put him a little above his neighbors in property ownership.

Unfortunately, like so many Americans (who have always been a mobile people), he was restless. He was a rolling stone. In the long run, he gathered no moss.

The Lincoln family moved a great deal. In Kentucky where Abe was born they lived in three different places, then left that state entirely when he was seven to strike deep into the forests of Indiana, where they cut a tract of woods away, built a shelter, and scratched the soil enough to start a crop of corn. They suffered severely. There Lincoln's mother died, and several other kinsmen also.

About a year later, Lincoln's father married a Kentucky widow well acquainted with him. She found Abraham and his older sister living in a shelter with only three walls, though the winter was intensely cold. The children were in rags, had been fed little, rarely washed, and were often harshly punished. Her affection went out to them at once. She bathed them, fed them, and made their father build a substantial cabin. She was the first person who saw in Abraham the beginnings of exceptional stature. She so often encouraged him in his aspirations that he referred to her after becoming famous as "my angel mother."

After 12 years and two moves in Indiana, the family migrated from that state to Illinois, and even there they ramained restless. Within a year they had moved again. Shortly after helping them build a new home, Abraham left them for a life of his own, he being then a grown man 22 years old.

Lincoln's father, though a well-meaning man, had little understanding of his unique son and treated him so tyrannically that he lost his affection very early. Thus the father's role was similar to that of Britain in reference to America. Fortunately for Lincoln during these early hardships, his wise and rational stepmother helped him greatly—just as France assisted America during her formative struggles.

Meanwhile Lincoln had grown fast. By the time he was 22 he was 6′ 4″ and weighed 180 pounds, Through hard work, the most arduous kind of work, he also had grown remarkably strong. Similarly, hard work has been a major source of strength to America. He became able very early to defend himself against anyone who tried to bully him. He was acknowledged the champion wrestler in his home area. But he never used that prowess angrily unless someone aroused his righteous wrath. Even then he preferred to make peace by telling a joke or by offering a compromise or by trying to arbitrate.

Living far from schools and universities, Lincoln was largely selftaught. In this respect, too, he was rather like America in its early years. Though he attended three different schools briefly, the entire sum of his attendance did not amount to one full year. He secured his education by immersing himself in a few good books and by seeking out older people who did have a little learning.

One of his first feats of self-instruction was to learn enough mathematics to become a surveyor's assistant at the age of 22. Next he studied law, and mastered it well enough to be admitted to the bar in the state of Illinois. Throughout all the rest of his life he never ceased to be a student, never ceased to learn, never ceased to grow in depth and breadth and humanity.

Consider what he looked like in these years of growth. Generally he was disheveled and awkward—as America has been through much of its history. One acquaintance called him "the original gorilla." He had a long stride bent in the knee as if he were wading across plowed land. Achingly sad of face at times, he was nevertheless friendly and loved a joke. If some one acted angry, he tried to cool him down with homor. Once, for example, when a shorter, thicker man wanted to fight him, Lincoln said this would not be fair because he would not be a much bigger target than the shorter man. Thus he forced him to laugh and to shake hands.

He became popular and trusted wherever he was known. At 22, as a candidate for the state legislature, he was badly defeated where people were unacquainted with him, but polled all but three votes in his own precinct. During the next election two years later, he was successful, and was repeatedly re-elected. In 1847 the voters of Illinois sent him to Congress in Washinton, but he never again served in elective office untill he had achieved the stature to become a candidate for President.

During all these years Lincoln showed a characteristic ability to continue his mental growth long after most men become set in their ways. A principal stimulus to his faculties was his conviction that the U. S. experiment in democratic government has import for all mankind, and contains a message of hope which would go strong in proportion to the success of his nation's experiment. He was an evangelist for democracy. In this, he was like most Americans, only more so.

But there was a strong minority in the United States who imagined that they could hold some men in slavery while also believing stoutly in freedom for most. Those contrary impulses toward freedom and subjugation (which we identified as being at play in the world-wide tragedy destroying men when Lincoln was born) were now contending bitterly against each other in America itself. There was growing question as to whether the United States would be able to survive this contest.

To Abraham Lincoln the quarrel over slavery seemed perilous in the extreme. He hated slavery, not simply because it deprived people of freedom and denied them the right to use bread gained by the sweat of their brow, but because it stained the whole American experiment, because slavery made that experiment a jest and dimmed its promise.

Even so, he was temperate about it. He was no radical in any sense. He never lost sight of the legal rights guaranteed to owners of slaves as property owners. Neither did he underestimate the compelling force of custom. He knew also that sensible people do in time change those practices which run against conscience.

Early in this quarrel Lincoln believed that, if slavery could be confined to the states where it existed, it would die out in time because so obviously wrong. He sought first of all to prevent the extension of slavery, not its extinction.

This is worth considerable reflection because today, nearly 100 years after he became President, it is still supposed by many people that his greatest work was emancipation of the slaves. Not so. His principal service to his nation and to all mankind consisted in maintaining a steadfast fight to preserve democratic government to prove that it can survive the most terrible ordeals. The object he fixed his mind upon was to see to it that government of the people, by the people and for the people would not perish from the earth.

Some of Lincoln's words on slavery are as follows: "I hate it because of the monstrous in justice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world—enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites—causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity......

"This issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man, the question, whether a constitutional republic, or a democracy—a government

of the people by the same people—can, or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. It presents the question whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control administration, according to organic law, in any case, can......break up their Government, and this practically put an end to free government upon the earth. It forces us to ask: 'Is there, in all republics, this inherent, and fatal weakness?' 'Must a government of necessity, be too *strong* for the liberties of its own people, or too *weak* to maintain its own existence? "

"My paramount object......," he wrote after the Civil War began "is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

In freeing the slaves the following year, however, he removed the most obvious element of falsity jeopardizing the democratic experiment. By that time his nation was far advanced in a struggle which was to destroy more than 25 per cent. of the men who prosecuted it. To preserve democratic government by means of this fierce and bloody contest, Lincoln himself went through ordeals more lacerating and scalding than any other American President. At the beginning of the rebellion by the slave-holding states, he had no experience in battle, and none to speak of with guns. Only once as a boy in the wilderness had he shot a wild creature, and was too tender hearted ever to do so again.

Still, kindly and humane though he was, Lincoln believed he should stop the rebellion, no matter what the cost might be. At first the task seemed to others impossible. Federal Government had no more than 16,000 men under arms—and only 3,000 to defend the capital at Washington. Moreover, he lacked capable generals. The run of men in top command on the Union side in the first year of war proved to be politically ambitious self-advertisers, each thinking the President an uneducated hick who had no comprehension of strategy. There was little

money in the treasury. His decisions to increase taxes, conscript troops and avoid immediate freeing of slave lest this alienate the wavering border states all brought savage criticism upon him. In the midst of these other trials, a dearly loved son of his died, and the thousands upon thousands of deaths created by the conflagration his entry into the presidency ignited became still more saddening to him than before.

The Civil War first went very badly for the armies Lincoln sent into combat. Whereas many of his constripts were from large cities in the North, a high proportion of the confederates were farmers and hunters who knew how to shoot. From the beginning they were led by some of the most talented generals America has produced—a group which included the incomparable Robert E. Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson. In addition the Confederates had the fervor of conviction that they, too, were fighting for freedom. Only about one-fourth owned slaves. The rest fought for the freedom of individual states to determine what should be done on behalf of citizens within their own borders. They confronted valiant, resolute men from the North with at least equal valor and even greater resolution. The result was the bloodiest war in modern times in proportion to the total number under arms ; the rate of casualty is higher than for any other single sequence of battle accurately recorded.

Through all this Lincoln, though often terribly depressed, somehow managed to maintain his gift of humour. To him laughter was "the joyous, beautiful evergreen of life" and he used it astutely. Once when a member of his cabinet took a wrong-headed position, he tried gently to bring him back to sense by telling a story about a men who went to a theatre and placed his hat bottom side up on the seat next to him. Presently a woman (who was very fat where so many women are) sat in that seat, than sprang up as the hat gave away beneath her. The poor man looked at it sadly, saying, "Lady, I could have told you it would't fit before you tried it on "

Such jokes however well used, were not always appreciated. Many sophisticated people, because of them, considered Lincoln a simple clown. Nevertheless, through all the criticism, through all the trials, Lincoln showed a capacity to grow fastest when the demands upon him seemed to exceed human capacity. He improved swiftly as a military strategist. He improved in humanity while also increasing his resolution to let nothing prevent him from preserving the union of American states.

A growing profundity and deepening conviction showed in his public utterances as the drama of domestic war went its bloody way. He was able during those years to give an ultimate expression to beliefs which always were implicit in the structure of American thought, butnever had been so masterfully put into words.

Nowadays he is thought of as in many ways the greatest orator America ever produced. His Gettysburg Address and Second Inaugural Address are extraordinarily charged with thought and feeling. They show that this unlettered product of the woods attained a capacity for expression to match that of the best writers known to man.

But when he did utter his finest statement, few who heard him had any idea that they hearing great speeches. His voice was metallic, his bearing matter-of-fact. Indeed, what he had to say was too charged with emotion to deliver otherwise than in a matter-of-fact way. At such moments he showed himself a great writer rather than a great speaker. Nevertheless, he stated our hopes about democracy, and our conviction of its unlimited promise, so superbly well that his utterance is to this day the truest articulation of American feeling. When an assassin's bullet suddenly ended his life, great numbers of former critics realized that the world had lost a major statesman.

That anyone with so little schooling could achieve such heights is proof of validity in the American dream-proof that there is no known limit to human capability, when it is allowed to grow under freedom. As some of you know, five other Presidents came up from log cabins to the White House, and many more

have been the product of modest homes, President Eisenhower among them. What Lincoln proved about the American dream has been proved over and over by sons of that nation's soil. He merely proved it better than anyone else.

Nevertheless, it remains something of a mystery how, with a background like his, he could grow to such heights. That mystery makes the Lincoln story perpetually fascinating. Indeed, his story is many stories in one. It is the story of the ugly duckling. It is the story of the poor boy who makes good. It is the story of every struggle from obscurity to world fame. And, in being all these, it is also the story of the U.S.A.

But I hope it is equally clear that Lincoln's story is also the story of all humble people and all newly developing nations everywhere. It is the story of all of us who are struggling to increase our vision, to increase our freedom, to increase our humanity.

His story is the story of Man coming forth from the ancient forests to achieve civilization.

—:o:—

Causes of President Wilson's Failure

By

Dr. Jerzy J. Lerski, Karachi

With the passage of time the stature of Woodrow Wilson as a world statesman and one of the greatest American Presidents is constantly rising. His services for the American people in the field of the much-needed socio-economic reforms introduced during his first Presidential term and generally known as the "New Freedom" Program were recognized even in his life time— But his revolutionary ideas in the field of foreign policy met in 1919-20 with devastating opposition and are still considered in many circles as "unrealistic" and controversial. The Virginian gentleman scholar, who was inaugurated on March 4, 1913, as the 28th President of the United States, was to guide the destinies of the American people during eight critical years from parochial provincialism towards world leadership and universal responsibilities. In order to understand the pathetic failure of Woodrow Wilson in 1920, it is necessary to review the basic principles of Wilson's Idealism which clashed with some of the cornerstones of the XIX c. American foreign policy, which may be summarized as follows :—

1. Constitutional basis of Article 2, Section 2, Clause 2, which already in 1787 established the close dependence and co-responsibility of the President and the Senate in the fields of foreign policy : "He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur ; and he shall nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls."

2. President Washington's "Farewell Address" in which he urged to steer clear of foreign entanglement, particularly in European affairs.

3. The Monroe Doctrine proclaiming hostility to European colonial powers' interference with the political system of the American continents.

4. Freedom of the seas' principle that the "free goods follow free ships"—both in time of peace and war.

As a political scientist interested primarily in the Anglo-American Constitutional law, Wilson before entering the White House had little experience in foreign relations, which he himself acknowledged : "It would be the irony of fate that my administration has to deal chiefly with foreign affairs." He was aware, however, that America may become a world power at the turn of the century. He concluded his essay on "Democracy and Efficiency" written in 1901 with a statement that the American people were now becoming neighbors to the world, whether they like it or not, they could not escape the coming challenges by ignoring them ; they had, perforce, to revise the new foreign policy and to become efficient in executing them. Wilson also saw clearly that the sudden emergence of the United States to world power would have a profound impact upon the system of leadership in the Federal Government. In the preface to the Fifteenth Edition of his Doctoral Dissertation which became a classic (*Congressional Government*), he wrote in 1900 :

> Much the most important change to be noticed is the result of war with Spain (1898) upon the lodgement and exercise of power within our federal system : The greatly increased power and opportunity for constructive statesmanship given the President by the plunge into international policies . . . . The war with Spain again chanced the balance of parts, . . . foreign questions became reading questions again, as they had been in the first days of Government and in them the President was

> of necessity leader. Our new place in the affairs of the world has since . . . that . . . transformation kept him at different from our Government, where our own folks and the attention of men everywhere is centered upon him . . . The President can never again be the mere domestic figure he has been throughout so large a part of our history. The nation has risen to the first rank in power and the resources . . . Our President must always, henceforth, be one of the great powers of the world, whether he act greatly and wisely or not . . . .

This new Wilsonian concept of President's role in foreign policy was to a large extent responsible for his later oversight of the traditional role of the American Senate in committing the United States to his great design of the happy new world.

Professor Notter emphasizes in his important book "*The Origins of the Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson*" the three elements that have dominated Wilson's thinking on international affairs as derived from his historical studies, his conception of progress, and his social religious philosophy :

> He believed that the modern age was to be moral as defined in Christianity, and that nations as well as individuals must conform to moral laws. . . . Belief in the capacity and the right of people to rule themselves was another basic element. . . . That growth of liberty in the world was to him inevitable by the operation of historical facts. In it he saw the gradual emancipation of mankind from all forms of absolutist governments and in it he saw the effectiveness of the teaching of Christianity and the power of righteousness and of the nobler impulses and aspirations of man. . . . The final element of Wilson's foreign policy . . .: was his conception of America and her nation . . . to realize an idea of liberty, provide a model for democracy, vindicate moral principles, give examples of actions and ideas of government and the righteousness to an interdependent world,

> uphold the right of man, work for humanity and the happiness of man everywhere, lead the thinking of the world and promote peace—in some, to serve mankind and progress.

Thus the three fundamental elements of Wilson's foreign policy may be summarized as (1) His religious background marked with some Presbyterian missionary zeal and selfrighteousness ; (2) His belief in the visibility of universal democracy implying the principle of self-determination for and nations ; and (3) His conception of American welfare mission in the world freed from the expansionist motives of the mid-nineteenth century " Manifest Destiny". It seems to be clear that all these three ideas have been firmly determined in Wilson's mind before he was elected President in 1912.

His idealistic approach to the international affairs became evident a few days after his inauguration when he emphatically announced the rejection of the Republican party's "Dollar Diplomacy" with regard to China and Mexico. Wilson resorted to the hitherto irregular procedure of giving his statements directly to the newspapers and emphasized that his new democratic administration was not interested in supporting any "special groups of interest" at home and abroad. As an opponent of racial prejudices, Wilson soon managed to smoothen out the deteriorating relation with Japan over the so-called "yellow peril" preventive lagislation in California. His attitute towards rebellious Mexico, as pointed out by Professor Bailey (in his *A Diplomatic History of the American People*), represented "a sharp clash between idealism and legalism". From the days of Thomas Jafferson it has generally been the policy of the United States to recognize established governments, no matter under what circumstances or how often they came into power. Wilson's reluctance to recognize the "unspeakable", "bloody-handed" dictator Huerta established a precedent which is, to some extent, reflected in nowadays American policy towards Communist China. The President further clarified his Latin American policy in a memorable address of October 27, 1913 at Mobile, Alabama :

> We dare not turn from the principle that morality and not the expediency is the thing that must guide us and that we will never condone inequity because it is most convenient to do so. . . . It is a very perilous thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in the terms of material interest. It not only is unfair to those with whom you are dealing but it is degrading as regards your own actions. . . . I want to take this occasion to say that the United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest. She will devote herself to showing that she knows how to make honorable and fruitful use of the territory. . . . We have seen material interests threaten constitutional freedom in the United States. Therefore, we will know how to sympathise with those in the rest of America who have to contend with such powers, not only within their borders but from outside their borders also.

No wonder that such idealistic declaration paved the way for substantial improvement of the United States relations with the Latin American Nations, as best symbolized by the Niagara Falls successful mediation attended by the so-called ABC Powers (Argentine, Brazil, Chile). Another step of Wilson towards making the United States a moral leader in the turbulent world was his dramatic demand that Congress should repeal the anti-British discrimination clause in the Panama Canal dispute. Emphasizing the *Pacta sunt servanda* principle of international law, the President urged: "We are too big, too powerful, too self-respecting a nation to interpret with too strained or refined a reading the words of our own promises just because we have power enough to give us leave to read them as we please." Again, such an approach proved to be very helpful in bringing closer the two Anglo-Saxon powers on the eve of the World War I. To prevent the approaching world conflagration, Wilson took another unprecedented step by sending an unofficial figure, his personal friend and Political Advisor Colonel Edward M. House on the last minute attempt to stabilize the shaky peace in Europe.

President Wilson's initial attitude towards the belligerent powers of the World War I may be summarized as that of complete neutrality although the German violation of the 1839 Treaty with regard to small Belgium became one of the decisive factors in changing the mind of America. The conclusion of Professor Tassier's book *La Belgique Et L' Entree En Guerre Des Etats-Unis, 1914-1917* rightly makes a strong point of it on basis of the ample documentation. But it was the cruel sinking of *Lusitania* with over 1000 passengers, and the renewal of the unrestricted German submarine warfare in early 1917 that finally brought the United States into the war in spite of Wilson's May 1915 pledge that "There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right".

President Wilson was a very unhappy man when, in defense of "the freedom of the seas", he was forced to declare the war in Germany. In his dramatic speech of January 17, 1917, he proclaimed a principle that there should be "a peace without victory". He was the first-one to concentrate on the constructive war aims which were clearly defined in his famous "Fourteen Points" in his "The Program of Peace" addressed to Congress on January 8, 1918. The essence of that revolutionary scheme may be defined as the universal application of the self-determination of nations principle and the collective security system under the League of Nations. With amazing speed, Wilson administration with the help of such co-ordinators as Bernard Baruch and the Labor Leader Samuel Gompers, was able to mobilize the American industrial resources and the manpower for the victory of the Coalition. It was done in zealous belief that America entered the war to end all wars once for ever. At the same time the so-called "Inquiry" of the best academic brains were mobilized by the President to study the complicated territorial and economic problems of peace to come.

Wilson's Fourteen Points tremendously helped, indeed, in bringing the hostilities to end and the Armistice was signed on

November 11, 1918. Wilson became at the same time idol of the underdog nations of the world. Never was American policy so popular all over the globe as in 1918-19. His self-determination doctrine helped to bring the independence of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Roumania, Yugoslavia and the Baltic States. But it was at this point also that Wilson committed one of his eventful mistakes when he decided to go by himself to represent the United States at the Paris Peace Conference. It was for the first time in American history that the Head of the State engaged his authority in complicated diplomatic negotiation abroad but worst of all Wilson failed to include in the delegation the senatorial members of the powerful Opposition and thus antagonized the Republicans who were in the majority in the Senate. Apparently as the head of the Democratic Party the President felt that his own party should take the full responsibility for the outcome of the peace negotiations. He may, therefore, be justly accused for breaking the truce with the Opposition and thus abandoning the bi-partisan approach in the conduct of foreign affairs which he preached in war years.

The next setback to Wilsonian plans for a Millenium occurred in Paris. Under the pressure of the Western European Chanceries, the deliberations of the peace conference were held behind the closed doors, in spite of Wilson's "Point One" proclaiming the principle of open diplomacy. The suspense atmosphere of Paris Peace Conference is best described by Sir Harold Nicolson in his reminiscences *Peacemaking 1919*. Hundreds of delegates representing twenty-seven Allied and Associated Nations selected the Council of Ten but even that body proved to be too cumbersome and too leaky and in March 1919 it gave to the Council of Four. As the Italian Premier Orlando was frequently absent, the so-called "Big Four" tended to be actually the Council of "three lone men in a room determining the destiny of the world" to use dramatic expression of Professor Bailey.

There was urgent need for haste. Europe was exhausted and hungry and the "red cloud of Bolshevism" was

spreading over Hungary and Germany. In the early days of the Conference, the victors proposed dividing the booty of the former German colonies. After a bitter fight General Smuts of South Africa proposed as a spokesman of the British Commonwealth the system of mandates for the regions detached by the war from the Ottoman Empire, but he did not apply that device to German possessions in Africa and in the Pacifics. Although nobody thought of returning to Germany any of these conquests, the colonial powers were equally reluctant to accept the "Point Five" of Wilson which provided for "A free, open minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined." Resenting the spoils to the victors' approach of England, France, Italy and Japan,—Wilson acceded to the compromise suggestion of a graded mandate system for all the conquered colonies as well as for Asia Minor and Mesopotamia.

In Wilson's eyes the drawing up of the Covenant of the League of Nations to ensure a just and lasting peace was definitely the most important work of the Conference. But the Allies' spokesmen, as well as many Republicans at home, insisted that the more pressing problem of the peace settlement be disposed at first and that the Wilsonian League of Nations be organized afterwards. The President feared, however, that if he did not get his views adopted at the outset they would be shelved in scramble for spoils. Although he was able to carry the day by the sheer way of his prestige, he had to make another compromise. In order to get the Italian support for his scheme, he had to promise them the Brenner Pass frontier in Tyrol with about 200,000 Germans. It is possible that acting here against his own principles of self-determination he was ignorant of the population figures. On January the 25th of 1919, it was voted in Paris that the League of Nations should be made an integral part of the Treaty and the President himself was appointed Chairman

of the Commission to draft the Covenant. By laboring under great pressure, the Commission was able to draw up a draft in ten days and on February the 14th, 1919, Wilson appeared in Peace Conference Plenary Session and triumphantly read the completed League Covenant. "A living thing is born", he solemnly declared in that last day of his personal triumph, but it was necessary for him to return now to America for the purpose of signing pending bills and of explaining the League Covenant to the American people.

Although President requested by cable that the Congress refrain from debating the League until his arrival, the Senate went into action when he was still on the high seas. The isolationist Senator Borah of Idaho attacked the League Covenant as "the greatest triumph of English diplomacy in three centuries", while another "irreconcilable" Senator Red of Missouri attacked the League as "a sort of international smelling committee"; On the last day of the 65th Congress on March the 3rd, 1919, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Mass., the Chairman of the powerful Foreign Relations Committee, introduced the Republican Round Robin. It was signed by thirty-nine Senators and Senators-elect, more than the Constitutional one-third necessary to defeat the Treaty. The most striking passage of the Ultimatum read: "Be it resolved . . . that it is the sense of the Senate that while it is their sincere desire that the nations of the world should unite to promote peace and general disarmament, the constitution of the League of Nations *in the form now proposed* to the Peace Conference should not be accepted by the United States." This was not only to warn the President but also to service notice on the world that the Senate would approve no Treaty embodying the League Covenant. *New York Sun* wrote prophetically : "Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations died in the Senate tonight", but the President still believed that the Senate would not dare incur the odium of rejecting the entire Peace Treaty.

When Wilson returned to Paris on March 14, 1919, he was alarmed to discover that Secretary of State Lansing and Colonel House had, in his opinion, been too willing to make concessions

to the Allied powers during his absence. The chief battle was with the Prime Minister of France, Clemenceau. The "Old Tiger" of French diplomacy sarcastically attacked Wilson's Fourteen Points comparing them with the "Ten Commandments", which after all are also not too strictly observed by average Christian: "Talking to Wilson is some thing like talking to Jesus Christ", he said once to Colonel House. France demanded heavy repressions from Germany and the occupation of Rhineland. On April the 3rd, 1919, the exhausted Wilson was stricken with influenza. Outside his bedroom in the Study sat the other members of the "Big Four". To their every demand on making compromises on his principles of self-determination, and "peace without victory", the sick man replied "No!". On April 7th, his patience at the end, Wilson enquired when the *George Washington* could presidential man-of-war be made ready to take him home. These dramatic gesture helped in effecting compromise. France was to occupy the Rhineland for a maximum of 15 years and the Saar valley for a like period, with a plebiscite at the Saar at the end of that time. In return, Britain and America were to sign a Treaty with France guaranteeing her armed assistance in the event of an unprovoked attack by Germany. Thus, to quiet down the traditional fear of French people of German aggression Wilson decided to commit the United States against the tradition of "no entanglements in Europe". During his illness, Colonel House further surrendered to the French demands on the repressions.

Another crisis of the Paris Conference was precipitated by Italy. She had entered the war being promised by France and England in the Secret Treaty of London various parts of the enemy's territory. Against the self-determination principle she now demanded the Adriatic coast on the Yugoslav side with some important ports.

Embittered by his Paris compromises, Wilson returned to the United States in July, 1919, strongly determined to win the approval of the Senate and the support of the American people for

the Versailles Treaty. To a large degree the fate of the League of Nations and of the future peace of the world would depend upon the outcome of the "Great Debate" over the crucial issue of the American participation in Wilson's system of collective security. In a self-righteous mood, the President presented his adversaries in the Senate with the Versailles Treaty urging for prompt and unqualified approval of the League of Nations, which was in his own words "the hope of mankind". Dare we reject it and break the heart of the world?—asked he rhetorically. At the same time he made no attempt whatsoever to build support for the peace settlement in the Senate and the Republican Party—among the very man, who would have the power of life or death over the Treaty of Versailles. This could be only explained by Wilson's supreme confidence in his own creation and in the over-whelming support of the American people who like him supposedly knew what was right and would crush any man who dared to obstruct the fulfilment of the age long dream of peace.

Apparently, Wilson was not aware that his opponents in the Senate found strong support among the three important groups of the hyphenated Americans. In 1950, I have made a fascinating research considering the role which the Americans of German, Irish, and Italian descent had played in obstructing Wilson's policy. Although the correct statistics are not available, it seems that there were at least fifteen million strong altogether. The seven million German-Americans led by George Sylvester Viereck believed that the Treaty of Versailles was a base betrayal of their old Fatherland. While they were traditionally rather the supporters of the Republican Party, the five million Italian-Americans and the 3 to 4 million-Irish Americans dwelling in the big cities were always considered the stronghold of the Democratic Party. Now they turned against Wilson—the Italians aroused by Rome's expansionist demand over Fiume and Yugoslav Dalmatic Coast and the Irish were up in arms because Wilson had refused to press the cause of Ireland's independence on shrewd British Prime Minister, Lloyd George. On the basis of a thorough study of that problem, I am convinced that the shift

from the Democratic to the Republican Party of the Irish-American and Italian-American vote in vengeance to Wilson's reluctance to support Italian and Irish claims was one of the three decisive factors of the failure of the League of Nations in the United States.

Another crucial element was Wilson's unwillingness to come to terms with the so-called "limited internationalists" group among the leading Republicans, such as : Frank Kellogg, Elihu Root, Charles Evans Hughes, Herbert Hoover, and Nicholas Murray Butler, who also believed that the United States should play an active role in preserving the peace of the world. Although they favoured arbitration, the establishment of the world court, international agreements for disarmaments and economic co-operation, all the "limited internationalists" opposed American participation in the collective security system provided by the key Article Ten of the league Covenant, which they considered as an unrealistic perpetuation of *status quo.* They claimed that the full-fledged American participation in such a system will endanger American security by transferring the constitutional power of decision over questions of peace and war from President and Congress to an international agency which the United States could not control. This happened to be also the position of Senator Lodge, the man who devised and executed the Republican strategy in the Upper House during the Parliamentary phase of the Treaty struggle. An ardent nationalist the Senior Senator from Massachusctts was by no means an isolationist. He believed in a strong balance of power system based on the Anglo-Franco American alliance as the best insurance for the future peace. Lodge applied the tactics of delay believing that time and the big business' money might secure the country from the League in spite of the fact that the majority of the American people seemed to be obviously for the League of Nations.

Against the advice of his doctors and friends, Wilson decided in the beginning of September, 1919, to take his case to the country. "Barnestorming" across America in twenty-two days,

he delivered thirty-two speeches with average one hour in length. He covered 8,000 miles knowing that he was taking a grave chance, but as he had said he would be glad to give his life for the cause. In almost every speech Wilson explicitly described and defended the major provisions of the Treaty emphasizing that Article Ten attacked by his opponents was the very heart of the Covenant and the foundation of the new world order—"speaking the conscience of the world". It seemed almost superfluous, claimed Wilson, to argue the necessity of the American membership in the League of Nations. There was the obvious fact, he declared in his speech at Des Moines, that American Isolation had ended "not because we choose to go into the politics of the world but because by the sheer genius of these people and the growth of our power we have become a determined factor in the history of mankind, and after we have become a determined factor you cannot remain isolated, whether you want to or not." The question confronting the American people was, therefore, whether they would exercise their influence in the world, which could henceforth be profound and controlling,—in partnership with the other powers or in defiance of them which would require a great standing Army and Navy. Without the American participation and leadership, therefore, the League would fail and without the League there could be no effective collective security system. These became increasingly the main theme of Wilson's addresses as he journeyed deeply into the West where he was enthusiastically received. The ovations reached a high point in Pueblo, Colorado, on September the 25th, 1919. But this was the end of Wilson's strength. Although he had planned to carry the fight into Senator Lodge's New England, his frail body now refused to go on. The remaining speeches were cancelled and he was convoyed by his doctors back to Washington, where he lay half-paralyzed, a victim of the war and of his strenuous campaign. It was most unfortunate that during the crucial period of next seven and a half months he could not meet even his Cabinet.

Republican majority in the Foreign Relations Committee proposed forty-five amendments and four reservations to Peace Treaty. The Senate adopted most of them in the form of Fourteen Reservations. The most important of them constituted a virtual rejection of the system of collective security that Wilson had construed. It claimed : "Disavowals of any obligations to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country, or to interfere in controversies between nations under Article 10, or any other article of the entire Treaty, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States for any purpose except by act of Congress." In addition, the Preamble to the Reservations provided that the American ratification of the Treaty should not take effect until at least principal Allied powers had accepted those Reservations in a formal exchange of note. Although Wilson had repeatedly expressed his willingness to accept some mild reservations,—he claimed now that those of Senator Lodge struck at the very heart of the Covenant. He wrote to his loyal Democratic Senators that the large resolutions did not provide for the ratification but rather for the nullification of the Treaty. He demanded from his Party to vote against Lodge resolution.

The complicated Senate votings on November the 15th, 1919, and again under the pressure of the public opinion on March the 19th, 1920, failed to mobilize the necessary two thirds of the Senate. In May of this year the Congress passed only the resolution declaring hostilities with central powers at an end, but Wilson's Peace Treaty could not pass, although about eighty percent of Senators and Congressmen were, in fact, in favour of some kind of a League of Nations.

The stubborn President refused to compromise even now and he decided to carry the fight at the polls in 1920 Presidential Elections. He still had some hope that the elections would prove to be a "solemn referendum" for his League of Nations, which became the chief issue in the platform of the Democratic Party. His own candidate for Presidency Governor Cox of Ohio failed to

appeal to American imagination and the ambiguous platform of the Republican Party proved to be more appealing. Its standard-bearer Senator Waren G. Harding of Ohio got a tremendous vote for his claim that: "America's present need is not heroic but normalcy". This emotional quest for normalcy defeated Wilson's candidate and Wilson's "Great Design". In spite of his pre-election promises, President Harding declared at his inauguration that the Republican Administration which came in power in March, 1921, definitely and decisively put aside all talks of entering the League of Nations.

To summarize, of all the complicated factors which contributed to the final failure of Woodrow Wilson's Foreign Policy,the most important were :

(1) President Wilson's wrong tactics in dealing with the "mild reservationists" among the Republican Senate majority ;

(2) His physical disability during the last crucial 18 months ;

(3) The anti-Wilson vote of hyphenated Americans of German, Irish and Italian origin;

(4) and before all the inability of post World War I America to grasp Wilson's farseeing idea of the United States's new responsibilities instead of the obsolete and isolationist "no foreign entanglements" tradition.

But the tragic events and outcome of the last World War seem to rehabilitate fully Wilson's quest for a collective security system based on international justice and brotherhood of all nations. It is my deep conviction that the world of today is desperately in need of the statesmen of moral and intellectual calibre of Woodrow Wilson to replace the Machiavellian leaders of the Teheran and Yalta power politics period.

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(4) and before all the inability of post War [illegible] America to grasp Wilson's [illegible] of the United States' new responsibilities [illegible] and [illegible] foreign [illegible].

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Character of the Abbasid Caliphate

By

Dr. A. H. Siddiqi, Karachi

In order to understand the character which the Abbasid Caliphate assumed after its advent, one has got to understand the chief causes of the downfall of the previous dynasty *i.e.* the Umayyads. The latter, unfortunately, on account of the tragedy of Kerbala and the siege and the sack of the Holy cities of Mecca and Madina, had alienated the sympathies of all sections of the Muslim community particularly, the Ulema who guided the public opinion. To make matters worse, they gave unequal treatment to the new converts who were in huge majority and thus earned the name of an Arab kingdom or even a Godless Dynasty. The anti-Umayyad propaganda which originated with the Shiites was fully exploited by the Abbasids to their own advantage. In the last resort, the only hope for the Umayad Dynasty to survive depended upon the full and undivided support of the Syrians, which was divided when the unity among the house of Banu Ummaya itself broke down after the murder of Walid II.

Under the able guidance of Abu Muslim Khurasani, the Abbasid propaganda flourished unchecked till the dynasty itself was swept off in 132 A.H. (750 A.D.) by the defeat of the last Ummayad Caliph Merwan II at the battle of Zab.

The Abbasid success was due to the foresight, statesmanship and military genius of Abu Muslim Khurasani, who, on the one hand succeeded in combining all the opposition forces against the cause of the Ummayad Dynasty; and, on the other, did not allow the Arab themselves to unite in Persia. The Abbasid leader, Abul Abbas-as-Saffah, with the help of Abu Muslim Khurasani also succeeded in completely deceiving the Alids; and to the chagrin of the latter was unexpectedly declared as the first Caliph in the very city of Kufa which was considered as Alids' impregnable bastion.

The task which confronted the first Caliph of the Abbasids was to ward off the danger from the vanquished dynasty of the Umayyads and their supporters, the Syrians; and to lay the foundations of their dynasty on a sound and sure basis. Abul Abbas As-Saffah succeeded during his lifetime in warding off the danger from the Umayyads by destroying them root and branch. In order to restore order internally, he had, no doubt, to demolish altogether the Umayyad power, but he had little justification for the ruthless persecution and utter destruction of the Umayyads. This ruthless policy of Abul Abbas not only earned him the title of As-Saffah, the blood shedder, but also sundered the unity of the Caliphate itself in that an Umayyad prince, Abdur Rahman I, escaped their fury, and after many vicissitudes, ultimately founded an independent kingdom for his own house in Spain. Not only an important province was thus cut off from the Centre; but also a rival glorious, albeit Caliphate was founded in that land by Abdur Rahman III. The new Caliphate was, therefore, not co-extensive with the limits of Islam; and had to confine its activities to the eastern lands only.

The conflict between the Hashmites themselves, *i.e.*, between the Abbasids and the Alids further destroyed the unity of the Muslim World. The Alids rightly felt that they were deceived by their cousins, the Abbasids, and therefore repeatedly and energetically tried for the assertion of their claim to Caliphate. Although vanquished each time, the Alids yet could never be reconciled; and continued organising revolts against the Abbasid Government. No wonder, the Abbasids now launched upon a policy of persecution. In any case, the cumulative effect of all this was that the Alids founded an independent Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt, and the Islamic Commonwealth stood further dismembered.

The only course now left for the Abbasids, under the circumstances was to found the Caliphate on religious basis so that they could survive inspite of this division and mutual rivalry. The originator of this scheme was Al Mansur who is rightly regarded as the real founder of the Abbasid dynasty.

A great scholar well versed in religious literature Al Mansur patronised Ulema and by enlisting their sympathies impressed upon the public mind that the Caliphate belonged to the house of Abbas. He succeeded in replacing the famous tradition of the Holy Prophet '*Al Ayimma min al Quraish*' by "Al Ayimma min Al Abbas". Al Mansur thus succeeded in laying the foundations of his house on what he considered permanent and sure grounds. On account of this belief among the Muslims that the Caliph must be chosen from the house of Abbas, the dynasty lasted for centuries after it had lost all temporal power till it was destroyed by the infidel Mongols in 656 A.H. (1258 A.D.).

Since the Abbasids had come to power with the help of the new Persian converts ; and as defenders of an Islamic State against the so called Godless or Arab State of the Umayyads, it was but natural for them to restore equal treatment to the new converts (Mawalis) in economic, political and cultural fields; and thus every office, even the highest that is of a grand Wazir was thrown open to them. Nay, the Abbasids committed a political blunder of the first magnitude by ignoring even the legitimate claims of their own race *i.e.* the Arabs. During the early period of the Abbasid Caliphate, almost all the important posts were monopolised by the Persians to the exclusion of the Arabs; and this naturally created a feeling of rivalry and jealousy between the Arabs and the Persians. In order to counter-balance the power of the two parties, *viz.* the Arabs and the Persians, the Caliph Muctasim also committed greater political blunder, *viz.*, recruiting uneducated and uncultured Turks into his army; and by entrusting them full control over the army, he enabled them to play the role of Caliph-makers. The absolute control of the Turks over the administrative machinery at the Centre not only reduced the Institution of the Caliphate to a mere farce; but also facilitated the Provincial Governors to assert their own independence.

However, by conceding equal treatment to the new converts all over the Empire, the Abbasides laid the foundation of an

Islamic State anew. Though as among the Umayyads, succession was hereditary, yet it was not hereditary, pure and simple, as was in vogue among the contemporary states.

Although the Caliph nominated his successor, the right of the successor was not based on the nomination by the preceding Caliph, but on the homage he received. The principle that each Caliph should be elected and that he should hold office during his good behaviour was recognised throughout, but no machinery was evolved or could be evolved at that stage of society by which the votes of millions of Muslims could be taken as often as the rulers changed or had to be changed. However, the bait was taken for the acceding Caliph by as many as possible at the hand of the Caliph himself at the Centre and at the hand of his representative in the Provinces. In the words of Amir Ali, "the oath of allegience to the elected Caliph possessed a sacramental virtue, and imparted a sacredness to his personality. The sacramental virtue attached to the bait was based upon the following idea. All the rules and ordinances which regulate the conduct of the general body of Muslims are the utterances of the voice of God. This is in substance the *Ijma ul Ummat*, 'the consensus of the people' and when they unanimously, or almost unanimously, choose a spiritual leader and head of the congregation of Islam, a divine sanction is imparted to his spiritual authority; he becomes the source and channel of legitimate government, and he alone has the right of ordaining deputies entitled to rule, decide, or to lead at prayers. It was due to this conception of the sacramental character of the Caliph's election that long after he had lost every vestige of temporal power, conquerors and chieftains like Mahmud of Ghazna solicited from him the consecration of their power. The Caliph's confirmation legitimised their authority, vested in them the lawful government of their states, and made every popular rising against them illegal and impious. This ordination was effected by the grant of a formal diploma which was invariably accompanied with jewels, swords and banners".

The right of the people to choose and confirm the Caliph, also gave them the corresponding right of deposing him if he flagrantly violated the laws of the *Shariat*. That very small group of people consisting of religious leaders, *Qadis*, military commanders and other high officials who had taken the *Bait* in the first instance would take the initiative in matters of deposition which will ultimately be confirmed by the people at large.

Let us examine whether there could be any better system of choosing the Caliph at that remote stage of Society. The best method at that stage of illiteracy should have been the constitution of a Board of few competent electors possessed of irreproachable character to choose a successor from among themselves on the pattern of Great ʻUmar. But even that was not possible as from the time of the murder of *Hadrat* ʻUsman, the Caliphate had lost its universal character, particularly owing to the mutual rivalry of the two important branches of the Quraish *viz.*, the Umayyads and the Hashmites. With the advent of the Abbasids to power, the gulf was further widened by an unbreachable rift between the two important branches of the Hashmites themselves, *viz.*, the Abbasids and the Alids. Both of them claimed Caliphate for their own faction. Caliph Mamūn tried to nominate and did nominate the most qualified person from among the Hashmites *i.e.* the Imam Ali ar Riza but was frustrated in his efforts because of stiff Abbasid opposition. For that matter, Mamūn himself was deposed by his own clan at Baghdad; and the situation was saved but by the sudden demise of the Alid heir designate. In such circumstances, there was no other alternative but to choose an able and competent Caliph from the house of Abbas. And in the early days of the Abbasid Caliphate, we find when the Caliphs were rather free to choose their successors competent and persons of character and ability were nominated. It was more often that senior brother of the Caliph was nominated to the exclusion either of the minor or less competent son of the previous Caliph.

During the early period of the Caliphate the only insignia of sovereignty were the Mantle, Rod and Signet of the Holy Prophet,

which were considered as precious possessions of every Caliph who used to don them on ceremonial occasions. Later on, other insignia of sovereignty found their way into Islamic polity. The most important of them was the inclusion of a Caliph's name in the '*Khutbah*'.

The Head of the State also being the leader of "*Salat*" (prayer) it became necessary for him to lead the congregational prayers at the Capital and to deliver '*Khutbah*' on Fridays and *Idain.* In this capacity he had to appoint *Imāms* as his representatives in the various units of the State. These *Imāms,* while leading congregational prayers as representatives of the Caliph in the various mosques of the State, after praising God Almighty and invoking blessings on the Holy Prophet, had also to include the name of the reigning Caliph in the "*Khutbah*". The inclusion of a Caliph's name in the "*Khutbah*" thus became one of the chief insignia of sovereignty and served as the only visible sign of his recognition as the Head of the State. Although in the beginning it was a part of the religious function, in due course of time, it assumed a great political significance.

The inscribing of the name of the Caliph on the coinage became also the exclusive prerogative of the Caliph during the Abbasid Caliphate. Even when the independent Governors in Persia began to share this insignia of sovereignty by inscribing their names on the coinage, the name of the Caliph was also inscribed on the obverse side except during the Shiite Buwayhid regime when only the name of the reigning Caliph was put on the reverse side.

The grant of a deed of investitute was the most important political prerogative enjoyed exclusively by the Caliph.

Since the latter was regarded as the chief source of power, no Governor could be recognised as a legally constituted ruler unless he had obtained this deed.

With the weakening of the central authority, the Governors who assumed practical independence and stopped the payment of regular tribute to the Caliphate, also felt the necessity of obtaining this deed of investiture from the Caliphate.

Even the usurpers who by right of their conquest had incorporated, or were in possession of, certain territories which were within the jurisdiction of the Caliphate, felt the need of securing this important deed in order to legalise their position in the eyes of the public.

Since the temporal functions could not be separated from religious ones, if such Governors did not secure this patent of sovereignty from the Caliphate, they were not entitled to appoint *Qaḍis* in the territories within their jurisdiction and as such all the religious functions would have come to a stand-still.

The acceptance of a deed from the Caliphate was in fact a declaration of their political subordination to the former, to which a sort of sanction was attached by the necessity of its renewal on the demise of the grantor and the grantee.

Although the Caliphate had no hand in the appointment of an Amir, the successor was obliged to apply to the Caliph for a deed of investiture which was, as a matter of course, issued by the Caliph.

However, this document was not a blank cheque given to the Governors to rule their kingdoms as they liked. There were certain religious as well as political obligations to be fulfilled by the rulers who used to bind themselves with formidable oaths to perform them.

Although there was no sanctioning authority to enforce these obligations on the rulers, yet it was understood that they were morally bound to abide by them and there seems to be no hint in any of our sources that orthodox public opinion was prepared as yet to admit any severing of the link with the Caliphate.

Even the Shiite Buwayhid Amirs, ambitious as they were to rule, still found it expedient to allow the Caliphate to retain its sovereignty *de jure*. Consequently the function of issuing the deed of investiture both on the change of a Caliph and an Amir remained intact and in force.

Qualifications of The Caliph :

Al-Mawardi considers the Caliphate an elective institution and lays down the necessary qualifications both for the electors as well as the candidates to the office. He lays down the following qualifications for the candidate who stands for the office of the Caliphate.

The Caliph must be a member of the tribe of the *Quraysh:* he must be of the male sex, of full age, of spotless character and be free from all physical or mental infirmity. He must have sufficient knowledge for the decision of difficult cases of law, and sound judgment required for public administration, and he must show courage and energy in the defence of Muslim territory. During the early period of the Abbasid Caliphate these qualifications, were more or less fulfilled by the candidates who acceded to the Caliphate. But later on when decadence seized them by the shoulder, most of these qualifications were done away with. No doubt the Caliph was elected from the house of Abbas and the three qualification of being a male sex, of full age and free from all physical or mental infirmity were always adhered to.

Duties of The Caliph :

According to Al-Mawardi, the following ten are the duties of the Caliph :—

1. To protect the religion from innovations and to see that people obey its injunctions and resist from what it prohibits.

2. To administer justice and prevent oppression.

3. To maintain law and order and establish peace in the land.

4. To administer *hudud*, *i.e.*, punishments prescribed for crimes connected with the breach of moral precepts.

5. To protect the frontiers.

6. To invite other peoples to embrace Islam and to impose *al-jizyah* if they refuse to accept that faith.

7. To collect *al-kharaj* and *as-sadaqat* without oppressing the tax-payers.

8. To pay regularly annuities and stipends to deserving people.

9. To nominate trustworthy people as his substitutes, appoint reliable men as governors and '*Āmils* and to entrust the charge of the treasury to highly dependable officers.

10. To keep a vigilant watch over the affairs of the State, to jealously guard the interests of the people and not to indulge in so much religious exercises as to interfere with the effective administration of the State.

All these duties were more or less fulfilled by the Caliph concerned or by his representative to whom he was forced to delegate his authority, *viz.*, the *Sulṭān.*

Privy Purse :

The Abbasids not only enjoyed their annuities but also a share in the booty (that of the Banu Hashim). Besides, they owned huge royal estates so much so that a separate department, Diwanud-Diya, had to be established to administer the private estates of the Abbasid Caliphs.

The Court :

The colour of the early Abbasids was black; black too was the colour of their banner bearing in white the inscription, "There is no God but God and Muhammad is the Messenger of God". The investiture ceremony was marked by Arab simplicity. The Caliph wore a black '*kaftan*' (a flowing garment)

and a black turban. On him rested the mantle of Muhammad and in his hand was placed his (the Prophet's) staff. *'Uthman's* copy of the Quran was kept before him. One after another, the nobility first and then the other kissed the hand of the Caliph, and this was the form of paying homage.

Shūra:

In accordance with the explicit injunctions of the Quràn, the Abbasid Caliphs tried to carry on the administrative affairs with mutual consultation. Under the early Abbasids, the members of the royal family and the members of those families which were faithful to the Dynasty like the Barmakides were always consulted by the rulers.

Al Mamūn was the first Caliph to constitute a regular Council of State representing every community which owed allegiance to him. These representatives enjoyed full freedom in the expression of their opinions and were not hampered in their discussions. But that was a solitary example; and it was not possible under the circumstances, to set up an advisory Council representing all sections of the Muslim community, as the Alids and the Kharajites were always opposed to the Abbasid Caliphate and could never be reconciled. However with the institution of several *Dīwans* headed by a separate *Wazir*, it was usual for the Caliph to consult the Head concerned and thus this system served the purpose of an advisory council.

Caliph and Legislation:

After the period of *Khilafat-i-Rashida*, the function of legislation was taken away from the Caliph in Council and assumed by the learned scholars of the day (Ulema). However, the sources of legislation remained the same *viz.*, (1) Quran (2) Hadith and (3) *Ijtihad* and *Ijam'*.

In order to facilitate legislation, the meanings of the verses of the Quran were made more or less definite and the great mass of

the traditions of the Holy Prophet were collected and arranged during the early period of the Abbasid rule. Further, Muslim law was codified and regulations regarding the various religious duties and ceremonies fixed by the four great schools of Muslim Law and Jurisprudence. Hence no immediate need was felt for further legislation during this period.

Thus during the Abbasid Caliphate, equality before law was assured for every one including the Caliph. Since no one was considered as legislator in the real sense of the term; and the Caliph was only regarded as the executor of the *Shariat* Law, all Muslims were placed on equal footing so far as the application of law was concerned.

Caliph and Judiciary:

The administration of justice was a subject of extreme importance and was regarded as a religious duty as enjoined in the Quran. The Caliph being the Head of the Islamic State was naturally regarded as the fountain of justice.

Judiciary was further developed during the Abbasid Caliphate. Hitherto, the Caliph or his representatives in the Provinces used to appoint *Qāḍīs* but from the time of the Caliph Mehdi, the office of the Chief *Qāḍīs* was also instituted and the entire judicial function were entrusted to him.

The *Qāḍīs* were highly qualified, competent and responsible persons and in most cases possessed the following qualifications:—

(1) Possessed sound knowledge of Muslim Jurisprudence.

(2) Possessed irreproachable character.

(3) Possessed full mental faculties and were sound of sight and hearing.

(4) They were free citizens.

(5) They were Muslims.

(6) They were male.

The *Qāḍīs* performed the following duties :—

1. Settlement of disputes and restoration of rights.

2. Administration of the properties of minors, the insane etc. Supervision of endowments and execution of wills.

3. Encouragement of and arranging the marriage of widows and execution of the prescribed punishments.

4. Removal of public encroachments.

5. Control over his subordinates and watching their conduct.

The *Qāḍīs* was to give his judgment and the execution thereof was in the hands of the Governors.

Owing to codification of Muslim Law, uniformity in law and procedure was established throughout the Caliphate; and thus the *Qāḍīs* were left with little interpretations of laws and their personal discretion in matters of procedure during the Abbasid period.

Since the *Qāḍī's* court was considered a religious institution, where divine law was applied to all irrespective of status, race, sex and nationality, no body, not even the highest in the State could secure or demand any preferential treatment. There are several examples in which even the Caliph had to appear in person before the *Qāḍīs* court as a mere defendent.

In order to assist the *Qāḍīs* in the administration of justice another class of officers analogous to the notaries public of modern times, and called aadils was established. Formerly only witnesses known to be of good repute were accepted. Others were either openly rejected or enquiries were made regarding them from their neighbours. But from the time of Mansur, a list containing a permanent body of witnesses was prepared by the

Qāḍīs, who were considered fit to be called as witnesses. The result was that not only reliability but inclusion in the prepared list was considered to be the passport to the witness box. From these witnesses some were chosen as assessors to help the *Qāḍī* in his work. Selection of witnesses became one of the duties of the *Qāḍī*, and on a *Qāḍī* vacating his office, the assessors appointed by him ceased to continue in that capacity.

So far the dispensation of criminal justice was concerned, the Caliph's court constituted the highest court in the Caliphate. The Abbasid Caliphs also continued the practice of investigating personally into the grievances of the public; and fixed a particular day for the purpose. Even an ordinary person could have easy access to the Caliph or his representative on this particular day. The function of this institution was to set right cases of miscarriage of justice which occurred in the administrative and judicial departments, and to initiate proceedings *ex-officio*, even if no complaint was made.

The position of the President of this Board was far higher than that of *Qāḍī* since the latter stood under his supervision and received directions from him. The President could himself decide legal dispute, or refer them to the *Qāḍī* for decision, or make them over to arbitrators. In his decisions unlike the *Qāḍī*, he was not bound by the strict letter of the law. He could hear witnesses on either side, and could decide according to the principles of equity.

It was during the Caliphate of the Abbasids that a regular office of *Muḥtasib* was created. It was an office that lay between the office of the President and the *Qāḍī*. His chief duty was to see that the religious and moral precepts of Islam were obeyed; and to detect offences and punish the offenders. Essentially the duties of the *Muḥtasib* related to the safeguarding of public morals and the prevention of commercial knavery. An offence had to be committed in public before the *Muḥtasib* could take cognisance of it. In fact, the chief function of this officer was,

to achieve the chief objective of the Islamic State *i.e.* to enjoin good upon the people and to prevent them from committing wrong.

The *Muḥtasib* could only try cases summarily when the truth was not in doubt. If a case required sifting of evidence and administering of oaths, it had to go to the *Qādī*. His function stood midway between those of the *Qādī* and the *Nazir al Mazalim*; but in rank and power he was inferior to both of them. However *Muḥtaṣib* used to be a powerful person and used to deal with defaulters quite impartially. Even the highest in the State could not escape from his clutches.

As it was an Islamic State, the non-Muslim could not be subjected to *Shariat* Law. Hence the settlement of disputes among the non-Muslim subjects was left to their own ecclesiastical authorities. However in punishing crimes against humanity, such as adultery, murder, theft, robbery, assault, etc., the same law was applied against all. Whenever a dispute arose between a Muslim and a non-Muslim, the case was decided by the Judge and the principle adopted was : The *Ḍimmi* is just like a Muslim in matters concerning this world.

Caliph And The Executive:

The Caliph was the chief executive authority in the State. He saw to it that the laws were observed. He controlled directly or indirectly the entire personnel of civil and military administration, declared war and concluded peace. He controlled the entire finances of the realm but he collected and disbursed them in accordance with the *Shariat* Law. He could cede territory and pay money to any foreign power. All foreign relations were conducted by him and all instructions to Ambassadors or other diplomatic agents emanated from him.

Under the Abbasids, the administration was conducted on definite lines analogous to modern civilized system; in some directions it may be said to have been in advance of our own

times. For the efficient running of the State, several Boards, corresponding to modern departments, were created and placed under efficient and expert officials both in the centre as well as in the Provinces. Above all, in order to centralise the administrative machinery, the office of Grand *Wazir* was also created during this period.

In short the Abbasids brought greater order into the Government, especially into the taxation system and the administration of justice.

The new era was essentially distinguishable from the previous one by its relation to religion. The Abbasids prided themselves upon the fact that they brought into power Islam which had been suppressed during the Omayyad period.

Religious Policy of The Abbasid Caliphate :

It was, therefore, in the religious field, that great achievements were made during the Abbasid Caliphate; that fact alone gave it an Islamic character. The Ulema were taken into confidence and were highly patronised. As a consequence, marvellous work was done in the collection of religious literature.

In the first century of Islam there was a large number of living witnesses from whom traditions were collected, committed to memory and orally handed down. No book on traditions, written before the Abbasids, had come down to us. The work of collecting and reducing them to writing was begun and completed during the Abbasid Caliphate. All the four great schools of Muslim Jurisprudence flourished under the early Abbasids and Muslim Law was codified. Scholars were likewise patronised and encouraged in their scholarly persuits. The result—progress was in almost all the branches of study—history, literature, science, all made giant strides. The cumulative result of all this was that Muslim civilization came to maturity in Baghdad, blossomed forth as never before, and shone all the more so lustrously that Baghdad became the foremost seat of culture and civilization in World.

The Caliph Mehdi not only undertook the task of putting into actual practice the famous verse of the Quran, *i.e.*, to enjoin good upon the people and to prevent them from committing wrong, by creating a regular office of *Muḥtasib* ; but also took energetic steps in curbing down all subversive movements which were likely to undermine the moral fabric of the society.

In order to promote the cause of Islam which is the chief objective of an Islamic State, arrangements for the conduct of prayers throughout the Caliphate were made during this period; and thousands of mosques were built. The *Haj* ceremony was organised by the Government and not only the caravan routes were made secure but every facility was provided for the pilgrims in the performance of the religious obligation.

In order to champion the cause of Islam, the Abbasids removed all discrimination between the old and new Muslims, and provided equal opportunities to all Muslims in every field of activity. Henceforth, writes Amir Ali, the non-Arabs, as common subjects of a great and civilized empire, assumed their proper place as citizens of Islam, were admitted to the highest employment of the State, and enjoyed equal consideration with the Arabs. A greater revolution than this has scarcely been witnessed either in ancient or modern times. It gave practical effect to the democratic enunciation of the equality and brotherhood of man. To this could be traced the extraordinary vitality of the Abbasid Caliphate and the permanence of its spiritual supremacy even after it had lost its temporal authority. The acceptance of this fundamental principle of racial equality among all the subjects helped the early sovereigns of the house of Abbas to build up a polity which endured without a rival for over five centuries, and fell only before a barbarian attack from without.

In treating the non-Muslim subjects, the Abbasids strictly adhered to the famous Quranic verse "No compulsion in matters of faith". They were just and tolerant, in fact generous towards their non-Muslim subjects who enjoyed the right to life, property,

religious freedom and to exemption from rendering military service on payment of a little personal tax known as *Jaziah.* Growth of their culture and traditions was in no way curtailed or discouraged; the administration of their civil affairs in accordance with their own religious laws was provided for. Nor were they discriminated against in the conferment of civilian post whereas they enjoyed the right to persue any avocation they liked.

In fact, the most amazing feature of the Abbasid Caliphate had been the preponderating number of non-Muslims in civil administration. It seemed that in their own State, the Muslims were being ruled by the *Ḍimmis.*

All things considered, the Abbasid Caliphate, even as foregoing discussion averse, was primarily an Islamic State, and it replaced the Arab Kingdom of the Umayyads. Furthermore, the Abbasid succeeded in founding their state on the chief characteristics of an Islamic State *viz.*, equality, liberty, fraternity, social justice and toleration. It will, however, be a fallacy to call it an absolute monarchy after the pattern of a Persian or a Byzantine monarchy where no doubt, absolutism reigned supreme.

Jahangir's Relations With Turan

By

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Jahangir's relations with the Uzbegs, or to be more accurate the Astrakhanids of Turan, are shrouded in mystery. The accounts given in the Turani sources tend to be anecdotal and are not altogether trustworthy. Muhammad Yusuf bin Khwaja Baqa, author of the *Tadhkara-i-Muqim-Khani* (Royal Asiatic Society London, Per. MS. 160) is responsible for the story that when the Turani envoy at the Mughul court spoke of his master's aversion from worldly things, Jahangir observed : "What has your master seen of this world that it has filled him with such disgust". The remark, it is said, was reported to Imam Quli Khan, the Khan of Turan, who was so annoyed that he refused to receive Jahangir's envoy for several months. This anecdote has proved to be so popular that several modern writers have cited it as an explanation of the cold indifference between the two kings.* The *Tarikh-i-Badi'a* (Bodleyn, 169) also relates the story but places it in the reign of Shah Jahan. In all probability the story is baseless and is one of those anecdotes that get associated with several names, and in any case its association with Jahangir is definitely wrong. Further the *Tarikh-i-Badi'a* (f. 189 a-b) says that Imam Quli Khan rejected Jahangir's proposal for an alliance against Persia as he had already entered into an understanding with Shah 'Abbas I, and sent 'Abdur Rahim Khwaja to India to convey his refusal. This account is written in a vein of local patriotism and is, moreover, chronologically untenable. There is a gap of about six years between the Khan's understanding with Persia (dated 1622 according to the *Alam Arai Abbasi*, p. 692-700) and the despatch of 'Abdur Rahim Khwaja as envoy to India. On the other hand, the Mughul accounts skip over the early Mughul-Turan negotiations and speak of the embassy of 'Abdur Rahim

*(*See* A. Rahim's article in Islamic Culture, 1937, p. 92).

Khwaja as if it had been sent on the initiative of the Khan of Turan to seek alliance and support of Jahangir. It is only by putting together several scattered pieces of evidence that [redacted]

highly confidential mission to Imam Quli Khan. The presence of Zainal Beg and other Persian emissaries at the court made secrecy all the more necessary—at least untill something tangible resulted from the projected negotiations. The contemporary *Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri* (Bodleyn 223), however does state that he was on a mission to Imam Quli Khan.

About three months after the departure of Mir Barka, an emissary from the mother of Imam Quli Khan arrived with a letter and some gifts for Nur Jahan Begum (*Tuzuk*, p. 330). Jahangir on behalf of the Begum, sent Khwaja Nasīr, an old and trusted servant, on a return embassy with a reply and presents. I believe that these seemingly minor missions were a cover for highly important and confidential negotiations between Jahangir and the Khan of Turan. Khwaja Nasīr certainly played an important part in these proceedings.

Mir Barka and Khwaja Nasīr did their work well, for about November 1622 Jahangir sent a writ (*Nishan*) to Mir Barka in answer to an *arḍ-dasht* he had despatched from Samarqand. The Emperor therein commends the diplomatic skill of the addressee and of Khwaja Nasīr in securing the sincere loyalty of the "dutiful son" Imam Quli Khan ; as soon as the latter revives the traditional ties of friendship and opens diplomatic relations, he (Jahangir) would confer unprecedented favours on him. The note proceeds to condemn Shah 'Abbas in very strong terms ; it refers to Prince Shahryar's selection for the Qandahar campaign and the appointment of Rustam Mirza Safawi and Khan Jahan Lodi to serve under him. Finally Mir Barka is directed to present the royal gifts to 'Abdur Rahim Khwaja (Juibari) who was then at Balkh, and to hasten back to the imperial court to receive his rewards.* The despatch of gifts to the influential Khwaja also appears to be part of Jahangir's efforts to establish an *entente* with Turan.

The embassy from Imam Quli Khan's mother and the missions of Mir Barka had cleared the ground for the restoration

*Ethe 2068 (*Maktubat*).

of diplomatic relations. The Khan now sent an embassy to India headed by Uzbeg Khwaja with a letter and a high confidential personal message whose purport can be easily traced from Jahangir's reply. The latter was then in Kashmir where he summoned the Khan's envoy. (*Tuzuk*, 373, 393, 369-8; I. N. J., 213,219, 240-1, 246). Jahangir wrote a most cordial reply, declaring his staunch devotion to *Sunni* orthodoxy and his hatred of Shiism; he expressed the hope that as soon as the ruler of Iran was destroyed, Shiism would disappear. Referring to the Khan's confidential message, Jahangir urged him to stand by his pledge to join him (Jahangir) in a campaign against Shiism (*i.e.*, the Safawids) and thereby also gain his long overdue revenge (for the death of his father Din Muhammad Khan who died of wound in battle against Shah 'Abbas at Herat in 1598). For his part Jahangir promised to start preparations without delay. Finally he requested the early *conge* of his envoy Mir Barka, and the despatch from the Khan's side of a highly trusted ambassador who, Jahangir assured, would not be detained for more than two months. All this indicates that some big project was afoot. (The text of Jahangir's letter is given in the *Tarikh-i-Badi'a* ff. 189b-92b).

Imam Quli Khan now sent a major embassy headed by 'Abdur Rahim Khwaja of the Juibar family of Bukhara. The very high status of the ambassador is an index of the importance attached by the Khan to his new found friendship with the Mughul emperor. Mir Barka accompanied the Khwaja to India (1627). The highly elaborate and respectful reception accorded to the Khwaja at Jahangir's court is vividly described in contemporary accounts (*Tuzuk* p. 416, *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri*, 286, Lahauri, I, pp. 193-204) and need not be repeated here. The royal letter brought by the Khwaja clearly states the purpose of the embassy. Imam Quli therein recalls his father's death and says the vengeance for his death and opening of the road to Mecca (through Persia) made it doubly obligatory on him to lead an expedition to Persia. He urges Jahangir to join him in this holy war. Further the Khan makes a strong plea to

the emperor to forgive his son Shah Jahan

A Note on the Central National Muhammadan Association

By

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The general statement that the Mussalmans of India did not organize themselves politically in the 19th century is one of the oft-quoted myths regarding the Muslim national past in the sub-continent. The reasons for the dissemination of this myth are not dfficult to seek or to enunciate. First, the 19th century Muslim India has been, as a general practice and fashion, studied in the context of the Aligarh movement; and the fact that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, most righteously and rightly, advised the Muslims of Upper India to remain outside the baneful influence of the embryonic politics of the Indian National Congress has been so much over-emphasized that the 'doctrine' of Muslim 'political quietism' has gained currency. Second, the non-Muslim 'nationalist' writers' soaked in the mud of an Anglican 'progressivism' made it a special point to reckon with and recognize only that section of Muslim intelligentia which, to their enthusiastic minds, represented their opposite number in the Muslim community. As such they were apt to minimize, even forget, the attempts launched by another section of the Muslims, who, notwithstanding their indebtedness to the European impact, still evinced the creative urge to look back to the glories of once dominant Islam. This section preached a philosophy couched in separatist terms with an organizational technique borrowed from the West but grafted on the contemporary sociological conditions of the 19th century. Third, the later identification of one of the central figures of the Muhammadan Association, Syed Ameer Ali, with the All-India Muslim League, the political bye-product of Aligarh, has helped engender the general misconception. There may, however, be other reasons,

real or partisan, which might have contributed to the adoption and popularization of the myth ; but the stark facts of history may be cast away into oblivion for some time ; they cannot be suppressed for ever.

The Central National Muhammadan Association with its head quarters at 2 Royd Street Calcutta was founded on the 12th May, 1878 and it lived and worked for many years before the foundation of the All-India Muslim League in Dacca in 1906. I am not attempting the whole history of this important political association but am writing a note on its first few years or so for a number of reasons which shall become manifest as I proceed.

It was no mere accident that the Association was founded when it was founded and not earlier. A student of the history of the Mussalmans of India in the recent past knows that such a body, a representative Muslim political institution, could not see the light of the day immediately after the devastating convulsion of 1857 A.D. Such a precacious attempt would have succeeded only in multiplying the wrongly concieved—but tyranically executed—official wrath against the Muslims of Northern India. The Old Muslim Order had to be wiped out through an inscrutible conspiracy of design and circumstance, before the beginnings of the New could be discerned. The phoenix of the Muslim 'communal' life could only be born again from the ashes of the old, decadent and lying system. In more earthly diction, the Muslims, or at least that section of the society which could think with some prevision, would think in terms of a 'national' regeneration two decades after 1857 when they would be "less afraid of discussing political questions with any degree of freedom or unreserve."

Likewise, it was quite natural that the Association should be born in Calcutta. That town, apart from being the pivot of British Imperialism in India had, through an interplay of the

economic and political forces, given rise to a coterie of young Muslims educated on Western lines but not entirely bereft of their consciousness of being Muslims first and foremost. This group, in contradistinction to the other Muslim group in the same locality who completely adopted Western manners and modes of life (external conformity only), were proud of the historic greatness of Islam and had reshaped the values of life in a spirit which may, for lack of a better expression, be called 'radical conservatism'. The Association was founded by such men and their peers in Calcutta and it gathered support from similar moulders of public opinion in other parts of the country.

The immediate reason for the foundation of the Association was that "at the time this Association was established there existed no recognized and *bona fide* political body among the Muhammadans, to present . . . . to Government . . . . the legitimate wants and requirements of the Mussalman communty". In earlier years the community was "Fair to leave (their) general interests in the hands of individuals *more or less* qualified for the task".

The lines on which the Association proposed to work were sufficiently traced in a "Prospectus" issued on the occasion of its foundation. "The Association has been formed with the object of promoting' by all legitimate and constitutional means, *the well-being of the Mussalmans of India.* It is formed essentially upon the principle of strict and loyal adherence to the British crown. Deriving its inspiration from the noble traditions of the past, it proposes to work in harmony with Western culture and the progressive tendencies of the age. *It aims at the political regeneration of the Indian Muhammedans* by a moral revival, and by constant endeavours to obtain from Government a recognition of their just and reasonable claims".

The membership of the Association was restricted to ordinary and honorary members subject to election by the Committee of Management which constituted the government of the Association. Ordinary members paid a subscription of Rs 6/- per annum and could become life-members by making a compound payment of Rs 100/-. Honorary members were to be persons "who are distinguished for their interests in the welfare of the Muhammadans of India". The Committee of Management consisted of twenty four members including the office-holders who sat on it as ex-officio members. This body was ultimately responsible for the activities of the Association, while the Secretary, who combined the office of the Treasurer, carried out the policy laid down by it. The Association had a small secretariat to assist its executive officer, the Secretary. The business of the Association was carried out in the name of the Committee of Management. The Association was empowered by its constitution to cooperate with "any other political body in the furtherance of the general welfare of India, or of the Muhammadans in particular".

The Association—or more correctly its promoters—realized the fact that Muslims lacked any real political consciousness and were not well advanced in the art and techniques of constitutional politics. It was, therefore, stipulated that there should be branch associations all over the country which should, in the main be guided by the central orginzation at Calcutta. Article 8 of the Bye-Laws of the Association specifically mentioned that the "Committee (of management) shall, with the object of promoting the political education of the Mussalman community, arrange foı the periodical delivery of lectures at such places and times as may be appointed for that purpose". With the same object, it was intended to hold conferences from time to time. The conferences, it was suggested, would also promote Muslim 'solidarity' in the country.

The Association gained grounds quickly. During the first year of its existence it enrolled about two hundred members, and by the end of the first five years membership had gone up to more than six hundred. Branch organizations were set up at Allahabad, Madras, Gujrat (Punjab), Shaikhupura, Muzzafferpur, Patna, Bogra, Kurrachee (Karachi) Motihary, Chittagong, Tumkoor, Surat and Hoaghly. These branches had another eight hundred members—men usually distinguished for their social or official position, public spiritedness and alive to the problems confronting their community—"men of light and leading among the Mussalmans of India".

The activities of the association fell under four main categories ; social, literary, legislative and political. It started a night school in Calcutta but this venture fell through by August 1878. It then took up the proposition of bringing its members into contact with each other by arranging periodical reunions in Calcutta. This measure was only partially successful. It gave some thought to the ways and means of cutting down extravagant expenditure on marriage and other ceremonies. Conscious of the necessity of diffusing liberal and professional education amongst the Muslim youth, the Association instituted four scholarships for Muhammadan students tenable at the Medical, Engineering and Arts colleges. The funds necessary for establishing these stipends were raised from the members, patrons and the Muslim gentlemen. Steps were taken to establish College classes in the Calcutta Madrassa and the efforts came to fruition in 1884. The vital question of female education was taken up next. The Association moved at a cautious pace in this respect because the Muslim public opinion was sharply divided on this issue. "Balance had to be struck between the conservatives and the progressionists and a Standing Committee was set up to study the problem. The Committee did not make its report for more than five years—such was the acrimonious conflict of opinions.

On the legislative side the Association submitted a respresentation on the defects of the Act X of 1877 which threatened intrusion of the 'Pardanashin' women. The Kazees Bill, before its enactment, was, on the desire of the government, examined ; the Mohammedan Marriage Registration Draft Bill (dropped by the Government later) received consideration, and the Government was successfully represented to hand over the bodies of the Muslim prisoners who died in hospitals. Previously their dead bodies were cremated. The Association also succeeded in getting the Government declare the closing of the Revenue and Criminal courts on Muhammadan holidays.

By far the most important work of this body was in the political field. It made a practice of presenting addresses of welcome and farewell to the Governors-General of India and to the Lieutenant Governors of Bengal. Odd as it might seem, this was a 'political' activity of some magnitude in the eighties of the late century, and the Muslim community expressed its goodwill to its rulers through this simple device.

More fundamental, however, was the raising by the Association of a very vital political issue—the restoration of the balance of state-patronage to the Muslim educated young men in Government service. This issue, which occupied the attention of the Muslim politicians ever since, was raised in a Memorial to Lord Ripon drafted by the secretary, Syed Ameer Ali. The Syed thought it was a very important matter and that with it the political destiny of Muslim India was inalienably linked. Restoration of the state-patronage to the Muslims (or the grant of a reasonable portion of vacancies in the Government service to the community) and its political influence in the country, were to his mind, synonymous. "Social regeneration" he wrote, "is hardly possible without political influence". The amelioration of the present backward and miserable condition of the Mussalmans rests materially with the Government. The general and widespread poverty

of the community, combined with the apathy of its leading members, and the insidious attacks of some of their co-religionists, render impossible any united action on the part of the Mohammadans." The Association, therefore, trusted that "not only would the Government of India, but also the Bengal Government (would) give the Association every support in achieving the work it has in view, namely the political regeneration of the Muslims by a moral revival" for "in order to enable a community to rise in the scale of civilization, it is necessary to allow it a fair share of political influence and power".

In response to the Memorial the Government gave a demi-official assurance that due considerations would be paid to the wishes of the loyal Muhammadans.

Such, in brief outline was the Association and its work during the first five years or so of its existence. Its significance cannot be over emphasized.

The Central National Muhammadan Association was the first attempt of the Muslims of India to organize themselves politically. Its restricted membership, on closer scrutiny, reveals that it was not an exclusive political club. It was, on the other hand, a fairly representative organization and fully represented such Muslim political opinion as desired to make itself articulate. Its respectful tone or strict principles of loyalty do not compare unfavourably with the spirit or tone of the contemporary non-Muslim organizations formed with similar motives and objects including the Indian National Congress.

The greatest significance the Association lies in making the educated Muslims familiar with the modes and techniques of constitutional politics. The leadership was drawn mostly from a section of the community which had become conversant with the English law and Parliamentarianism. The devices adopted

for pressing upon the Government the needs and requirements of Muslims were a direct importation from England. Representation, addresses and memorials were the constitutional tools employed with a caution and discretion which was characteristic of men who have had their training in the secular legal institutions of Britain.

Political separatism was writ large on the face of this body. It was founded by and it worked for the well being of its own community. The Prospectus, however, mentioned that "the Association does not, however, overlook the fact that the welfare of the Mohammadans is intimately connected with the well-being of *the other races of India.* It does not therefore exclude from its scope the advocacy and furtherance of the public interests of the people of this country at large". Moreover there were many non-Muslim honorary members. But the negative phrasing of the above sentences, and the inclusion of a vest number of Englishmen (Parsi and Hindu Honorary Members could be counted on the tips of one's fingers) have anothei tale to tell. It is demonstrative that the founders of the Association distinguished between the Muslims and "the other races", while the inclusion of English honorary members was a vigorous endeavour to create an Anglo-Muslim equation which was considered fundamental to the progress, political or otherwise, of the subject community.

It should be remembered that the Association consciously planned to weld together the Muslims from all over the country. A common political platform for the whole of Muslim India was, as yet, a far cry; but auspicious beginnings had been made.

The Association catered for the growth of Muslim political consciousness many years before Aligarh could talk politically. It may sometimes be necessary for scholars, both Occidental and from the sub-continent, to over-estimate the contribution of the Aligarh movement but even then they could have little

justification for under-estimating such a pioneering attempt at Muslim political separatism as this brief note on the Central National Muhammadan Association reveals.

Appendices.

I. Rules of the Central National Muhammadan Association.

II. Bye-laws of the Central National Muhammadan Association.

Rules of the Central National Mohammedan Association.

Article 1. The Association shall have a President and three Vice-Presidents, (who shall be elected biennially) one Secretary, one Joint Secretary and two Assistant Secretaries.

Article 2. The Association shall consist of Ordinary and Honorary members.

Article 3. Honorary members shall have the same rights and privileges as Ordinary members.

Article 4. Honorary members shall be elected by the Committee of Management at an ordinary meeting, and shall consist of persons who are distinguished for their interests in the welfare of the Mohammedans of India.

Article 5. Ordinary members shall be nominated in writing by one member of the Committee of Management and elected after seven (7) days' notice of such nomination, at the next meeting of the Committee, if approved by a majority.

Article 6. The Management of the Association shall be vested in a Committee, consisting of twentyfour (24) members including office-bearers, five of whom shall form a quorum.

Article 7. The Committee of Management shall have the power of filling up vacancies in its own body.

Article 8. The Committee of Management shall have power to elect, in the usual manner, any non-Mohammedan gentleman as an Ordinary member of the Association, and such member shall have the power to vote as an Ordinary Mohammedan member on any question, except such as may happen to conflict with the interest of any section of the society to which such non-Mohammedan member may belong.

Article 9. On the election of every member, both Ordinary and Honorary, the Secretary shall forthwith notify to the member his election by letter. The subscription in the case of Ordinary members shall be payable in advance, and if not paid within three months from the date of such notice, the Committee may remove the name of such defaulting member, if no reasonable cause be shown to the contrary.

Article 10. Ordinary members shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 6, or may compound for the same by payment of Rs. 100, which shall constitute them life-members.

Article 11. None of the office-bearers shall be liable to removal except at a General Meeting of the Association, and by the vote of a majority of two-thirds of the members present thereat.

Article 12. Any member of the Association who shall, in course of any General or special Meeting of the Association, or the Committee of Management, persistently obstruct the business of the Association, shall be subject to be called to order by the Chairman, or in case of persistent non-compliance, shall be declared by a vote of two-thirds of the members present to be incompetent to address the meeting further at that meeting ; and in case of a repetition of such conduct on three different occasions shall be liable to have his name removed from the rolls of the Association by the Committee of Management.

Article 13. The Secretary shall be authorized to call a special meeting of the Committee of Management whenever in his opinion there arises any occasion for it.

Article 14. The matters connected with the funds of the Association, and all powers relating to disbursements (to an amount not exceeding Rs. 100 a month) on behalf thereof, shall be vested in the Secretary, who shall also be designated Treasurer of the Association.

Article 15. The Secretary and Treasurer shall submit to the Committee of Management a monthly account of receipts and expenditure, and shall be entitled to an acquittance. The Secretary and Treasurer may disburse an amount exceeding Rs. 100 a month with sanction of the Committee of Management previously obtained.

Article 16. The Secretary and Treasurer may, at his discretion, open, on behalf of the Association, cash balance accounts with the Savings Bank, or the Bank of Bengal, and such cash-balance accounts shall be submitted for the examination of the Committee at every ordinary meeting.

Article 17. The Secretary and Treasurer shall conduct all correspondence in English on behalf of the Association.

Article 18. The Joint-Secretary may conduct all correspondence in vernacular on behalf of the Association.

Article 19. All cheques drawn by the Committee of Management and all the receipts granted shall be signed by the Secretary and Treasurer only, and all bills paid shall be audited by one of the Assistant Secretaries. All accounts connected therewith shall be kept by one of the Assistant Secretaries under his signature, and such Assistant Secretary shall be responsible for any mistake arising in such bill or bills, or any delay that may occur in the submission of the monthly cash-balance accounts.

Article 20. The Committee of Management shall meet twice a month for the transaction of the ordinary business of the Association.

Article 21. The Committee of Management shall have the power of making any addition to, or alteration in, the rules and bye-laws, subject to the confirmation of a general meeting of the Association.

Article 22. The Committee of Management shall call a general meeting whenever occasion may require.

Article 23. The Secretary and Treasurer shall submit a yearly report of all the proceedings of the Association, and a statement of a Budget account thereof at the annual meeting of the Association, which shall be held in the month of July, and such general meeting shall confirm and sanction the proceedings of the Committee of Management, and pass the accounts.

By Laws of the Central National Mohammedan Association.

1. The President shall ordinarily preside at the meeting of the Committee and of the Association. In his absence the senior Vice-President shall take the Chair.

2. When neither the President nor any of the Vice-Presidents are present, the members shall elect a Chairman *pro-tem.*

3. If any member of the Committee of Management resident in Calcutta shall absent himself from six ordinary meetings without any cause previously notified, such defaulting member shall cease to be a member of the Committee.

4. The finances of the Association shall be entrusted to a Sub-Committee which shall be appointed at a general meeting and shall be composed of five members, three of whom shall be taken from the Committee of Management.

5. The Committee of Management may from time to time appoint from their own body or from the general body of the members, Sub-Committees to take charge of educational, social or political questions which may require their attention, and frame rules for the conduct of the business of such Sub-Committees.

6. The recommendations of such Sub-Committees when approved by the Committee of Management shall be submitted for the sanction of a general meeting of the Association.

7. The Committee shall have the power of co-operating with any other political body in the furtherance of the general welfare of India, or of the Mohammedans in particular.

8. The Committee shall, with the object of promoting the political education of the Mussalman community, arrange for the periodical delivery of lectures at such places and times as may be appointed for that purpose.

9. The Presidents of the Branch Associations shall be *ex-officio* Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Central Association, and shall be entitled to vote when residing in Calcutta at any ordinary or special meeting of the Committee of Management, or at any general or special meeting of the Association.

10. The Committee may appoint any Mohammedan or non-Mohammedan gentleman taking special and prominent interest in, and affording substantial assistance towards, the promotion of the welfare of the Mohammedans of India to be Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Central Association, provided that when any such appointment is deemed necessary in a province where a Branch Association exists, such appointment shall be made in consultation with the Branch Association.

11. The Branch Associations shall conduct all business connected with local matters or with their internal economy independently of the Central Association, but in all questions concerning the general Mohammedan community, and in case of representations to Government affecting national interests, an agreement shall be arrived at by interchange of views and communications, and such representations as aforesaid shall, so far as possible, be submitted through the Central Association.

12. The Branch Associations shall have the power of sending delegates at any time to the meetings of the Central Association, and such delegates shall be entitled to take part and vote in the deliberations of the Central Association and to be present at the meetings of the Committee of Management without being entitled to vote.

13. The Committee of Management shall have the power to call a Conference of all the Branch Associations whenever they may consider it advisable.

14. The Branch Associations shall furnish to the Central Association with copies of reports of their proceedings and list of their members and any communications addressed to Government.

15. The Vice-Presidents and Secretaries of the Branch Associations shall be *ex-officio* members of the Central Association.

16. In order to promote thorough solidarity among the Mohammedans of India, the Secretaries of the Branch Associations shall keep the Central Association informed of the progress of their respective Associations.

17. In case of any necessity for material assistance in any question affecting general interests, the Central Association shall be entitled to call for the support of the Branch Associations, but not otherwise provided that when such demand for support affects the funds of the Branch Association; the amount and the extent of it should be determined by a general meeting of the Branch Association.

18. The Branch Associations shall be similarly entitled to the support of the Central Association, and to be assisted by its advice and guidance.

WHO WROTE TAZKIRAT-UL-AULIYA?

By

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The *Tazkirat-ul-Auliya* is a book on the Muslim hagiology. It is written in Persian prose. Its language is simple and free from all sort of artificialities. It contains the lives of seventy-six early Muslim mystics. It is a very popular and a widely known book both in the East and the West. It is said to be the work of Shaikh Fariduddin Attar. As such it has been edited, published and translated into many languages.

There are certain facts in the book and few external evidences about it which make me believe that it is not a genuine book written by Shaikh Fariduddin Attar but by some one else and passed off as the work of Shaikh Fariduddin. Its editors—R. A. Nicholson and Agha Abdul Wahab Qazurni seem to have ignored this fact and do not throw any light on this point. But in spite of this Agha Abdul Wahab Qazurni being distressed at the impossible stories the book contains, frankly remarks, "I am not a disbeliever in miracles but some miracles are not possible because they contradict the laws of space and time." He[1] also points out the mistakes of historical facts and dates found in the book. He has also mentioned many things contained in the book which are not humanly possible.[2] But even then he has refrained from expressing his view whether the book is genuine or not. But the attitude of the great Maulana Jami about it was quite different. In his notice of Shaikh Fariduddin Attar he remarks significantly that "the *Tazkirat-ul-Auliya* is attributed to him."[3] Not less important is the fact that Maulana Jami did not use the *Tazkirat-ul-Auliya* for the compilation of his *Nafhat-ul-uns*. It means that he did not consider it a work of Shaikh Fariduddin Attar.

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1 *Tazkirat-ul Auliya* (Introduction) edited by R. A. Nicholson.

2 *Tazkirat ul-Auliya* (Introduction p. 5) edited by Agha Abdul Wahab Qazurni, (Tehran edition).

3 *Jami's Nafhat ul uns*, P. 540

Our Indo-Pakistan annals also give us sufficient reason to believe that the work is not of Shaikh Fariduddin Attar. Relations between Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and Persia were pretty close in those days and the life and works of Shaikh Fariduddin Attar were well known in the literary and mystic circles of Delhi in the days of Ghiasuddin Balwan and the Khilgis. The stories we find in the *Tazkirat-ul-Auliya* were current, the heroes of the first and the second circle of Muslim mysticism—the legendary quietists and the founders of schools were household words. Still though other works are often quoted as authorities for the stories of early Muslim mystics, no reference is made anywhere to the *Tazkirat-ul-Auliya.* Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, while discussing the book on the early mystics pointed out the names of many books like *Ruhul Arwah* and *Quwatul Qutub.*[1] Why he ignored the *Tazkirat-ul-Auliya*? Obviously because it did not exist in his days. Barni has given a long list of books on Muslim mysticism which were sold in the market of Delhi,[2] but no reference is made to the *Tazkirat-ul-Auliya.* Even the authors of the early fabricated *malfuzat*, though in search of mericulous stories, know nothing about it. It is not till the appearance of the *Afzal-ul-Fawaid* alleged to be a work of Amir Khusrau that we find the first reference to the *Tazkirat-ul-Aulyia* and even then it is not referred as Shaikh Fariduddin's work. And the *Afzal-ul-Fawaid* is probably later than the other *malfuzat* for it is not likely that a forgery like this would be attempted till such time when literary men had forgotten the peculiar characteristics of Amir Khusrau's prose. In other words, the first reference to the *Tazkira-ul-Auliya* makes it impossible to explain how a work of Shaikh Fariduddin Attar remained unknown and unnoticed so long.

So far the internal evidences are concerned we find that it contains mistakes of historical facts and dates, For instance,

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1 *Fawaidul Fawad.* 23 Muharram, 712, A. H.

2 Barnis *Tarikh Firoz Shahi*, pp. 352-4.

it has been said that one day the Prophet took Hasan Basri in his lap,[1] whereas the latter was born in 21 A. H,[2] It also says that Bayazid Bistani studied with Jafar Sadiq[3] and it is a well known fact of history that the latter died in 148 A. H. and the former in 261 A. H. As such there is a difference of 113 years between the death of the two. And we are certain that Shaikh Fariduddin Attar would not he guilty of committing such blunders.

Besides, as we read the book, it seems to be a disjointed compilation or to be more accurate, a set of two disjointed compilations. The substance, if not the form of it, shows that the strata of manufactured legends have gradually settled, generation after generation, on the original mystic records. And to this compilation, any how, the name of Shaikh Fariduddin has got attached. Did an enterprising calligraphist or bookseller, who had copies of it decide that it would be easier to sell it under the name of Shaikh Fariduddin Attar ? It is useless to speculate. But the fact that no Indo-Muslim mystic is mentioned seems to indicate that the work come to us from abroad at the end of the fourteenth or in the beginning of the fifteenth century A. C.

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1 *Tazkirat-ul-Auliya* (Tehran edition) p. 23.

2 *Ibid*, (Introduction Footnote).

3 *Ibid*, p. 116.

The First Library at Ghazna under the Muslim Rule

By

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The rise of Ghaznavid dynasty (349 H./961 A.D.) and the advent of the powerful Sultan Muhammad of Ghazna (387 H./997 A.D.) whose court was the rendezvous of renowned scholars appear to be almost miracles of history, for want of proper historical perspective. Though research into the pre-Ghaznavid period has not yet advanced, we get glimpses of the historical events which indicate that Ghazna had been a seat of political power at least three centuries before the rise of the Ghaznavids. As early as the seventh century A. D., the old kingdom of Zabulistan with its capital at Zabul (Ghazna) was a political power in the region only next to the Kingdom of Kabulistan. At the time of the Muslim conquest, the rulers of the *Shahi* and the *Rutbil* dynasties of Zabul were still powerful although the kingdom of Zabulistan had weakened due to the internecine warfare.[1]

An authentic account of education and learning at Ghazna during the course of two and a half centuries of Muslim influence preceding the rise of the Ghaznavids is yet to be construed, but it is presumed that with the Muslim conquest, the early Arab Administrators and settlers lightened the torch of learning at Ghazna, just as they had done it in other far-flung corners of the Asian and the African continents, by founding the *Jamias* and setting up the mosque-schools and libraries. In this paper, I propose to draw attention to an interesting, though

1 A paper entitled "Political Conditions in the State of Ghazna. On the Eve of Muslim Conquest" touching this subject was contributed by the present writer at the last (Eighth, 1958) Session of Pakistan History Conference at Peshawar.

debatable, account of the main city—library of Ghazna flourishing during the 8th century A.D.

This account is attributed to Flaccus Albinus Alcuinus, Abbot of Canterbury, who is supposed to have travelled to Ghazna in the 8th century A.D. in search of a manuscript copy of "The Book of Jasher", a scripture in Hebrew purporting to be a part of the Old Testament. An English translation of "The Book of Jasher" attributed to Alcuin and dating back to 1751 A.D. was published for the first time from Bristol (England) in 1829 A.D. In the Christian religious circles, this book is considered to be a forged one, but this need not diminish our interest in the historical contents of its introduction. Moreover, the existence of "The Book of Jasher" is not denied by anyone. It is mentioned twice in the Old Testament : (i) "Is not this written in the Book of Jasher" (Joshua x.13), and (ii) "Behold, it is written in the Book of Jasher" (2 Sam.i.18). Also, the existence of a copy of "The Book of Jasher" in original Hebrew at Ghazna during the 8th century, as stated in Alcuin's account, is in consonance with the widely accepted tradition that one of the tribes of the Israilites had long ago migrated to the adjoining mountainous regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Without going into further arguments, we may advert to Alcuin's account of his travel to Ghazna, which has been reproduced fully in the Appendix.

The following points emerge from his account of the city-library at Ghazna : (1) The library was not a private concern or collection but it was a public library belonging to the community of the city. (2) There was a "Keeper" or custodian of the library (*i.e.* librarian in charge). (3) A proper catalogue of the books was being maintained, and the books were entered in this catalogue according to their original titles. For instance, when the librarian was requested to show *The Book of Jasher*, he "immediately turned to the catalogue" where it was entered as "The Volume of Jasher". (4) The rare

manuscripts, such as that of *The Book of Jasher*, were kept under lock and key in a separate reserved section. (5) Reference to "the pieces of antiquities" indicates that this section housed, beside the manuscripts, other antiquities and was, thus, organized as a museum of rare antiquities. (6) This 'museum section' was under special charge and its keys were not with the librarian "but in the hands of the city-treasurer". (7) On special request, the treasurer would come, personally to unlock the particular chest and place the required manuscript at the disposal of a research scholar who may consult it as frequently as he wanted to, provided this was done "in the presence of the custos (custodian) and in the library." (8) There were restrictions on an outsider taking away copies of the rare manuscripts, but he could take notes and make translations. The custodian of the Library, however, had no power to grant such a permission. Alcuin had to apply to "the community the city" for "taking a transcript" of the original Hebrew manuscript of *The Book of Jasher.* The treasurer opposed this request and the "petition was rejected." Thereafter a fresh petition was submitted "to make an English translation of the Book and Notes", whereupon the treasurer said in reply "that he had considered" the request "and would shortly relate the affair to the recorder of the city, and take his opinion thereon". A few days after, directions were received from the recorder requiring Alcuin to attend "the next court" when, after inquiry and hearing the petition was granted. The following order was passed by the court:—

> "We grant unto Alcuin, and his two assistants. full liberty and power of translating out of the original Hebrew. *The Volume of Jasher*, with the Notes appertaining thereto, now contained in chest in the public library of Ghazna, into English, and into no other language whatever. And we like-wise order, that the said English translation be made in the library

and in the presence of the custos at such times of the day as shall be most convenient to the said custos."

The custodian and the treasurer again took the translated copy and produced it before the court for further inspection. The court, after proper application and hearing, delivered the copy to the translation and allowed him to take it along with him to his home-country.

Alcuin is said to have been a prominent courtier of Charlemagne and he founded the University of Paris in 800 A.D.[1] . . . His visit to Ghazna may have taken place between 750 and 800 A.D., *i.e.* nearly one hundred years after the Muslim conquest of Ghazna. If Alcuin's account is to be trusted, the library in Ghazna may be considered to be the first important library at Ghazna under the Muslim rule.

Alcuin's biographical notice given in the 'Preliminary Dissertation', vide "*The Book of Jasher*", 1934 edition, San Jose, California.

APPENDIX

Alcuin's Account of his visit to the Ghazna Library*

I, Alcuin, of Britain, was minded to travel into the Holy Land, and into the province of Persia, in search of holy things, and to see the wonders of the east. And I took unto me two companions, who learned with me, under able teachers and masters, all languages which the people of the east speak; namely, Thomas of Malmsbury, and John of Huntingdon: and though we went as pilgrims, yet we took with us, silver, and gold, and riches. And when we came unto Bristol, we went into a ship bound for Rome, where we tarried six months, and learned more perfectly the old Persic language. Here the pope blessed us, and said 'Be of resolution, for the work ye have undertaken is of the Lord.' From Rome we went to Naples, and tarried there three days, and from thence to Salermo, and from thence to Palermo. We went through Sicily, and took Melita in our way, where we abode six days. Hence we sailed for the Morea, visited Athens, Thessalonia, Constantinople, Philadelphia, Pergamus, Smyrna, Ephesus, Antioch, Coloss, Cappadocia, Alexandria, Damascus, Samaria, Bethel, and Jerusalem. Here we stayed six weeks, and the patriarch John received us kindly. And after having visited every part of the Holy Land, particularly Bethlehem, Hebron, Mount Sinai, and the like, we crossed an arm of the Persic Gulph at Bassora, and went in a boat to Bagdad, and from thence by land to Ardevil, and so to Casbin. Here we learnt from an Ascetic, that at the furthermost part of Persia, in the city of Gazna, was a manuscript, wrote in Hebrew, of *The Book of Jasher*. He stimulated us to this undertaking, by observing, that *The Book of Jasher* was twice mentioned in the *Holy Bible*, and twice appealed to as a book of Testimony, and that it was extant before the writings which are now stiled *The Books of Moses*. We immediately undertook the journey, going by the way of Ispahan, where we tarried three week; at

* Appended as an Introduction to' The 'Book of Jasher', 934 edition, San Jose California, pp. viii-xi.

length we arrived at Gazna. Here we laid aside the pilgrims' dress and I hired a house, where we dwelt during our stay in this city, which was about three years.

I soon became acquainted with the keeper of the library which belongs to the community of this city, and enquired of him concerning *The Book of Jasher*, which the recluse at Casbin had told us of. He said, he had read of such a manuscript in the catalogue of the Library, but had never seen it, though he had been custos for fortyfive years, but that it was locked up in a chest, and kept among the pieces of antiquities in a separate part of the library. As I lived nigh the custos, so I soon became familiar in his family; wherefore one day I took the opportunity to tell the custos, that I was very much obliged to him for the civilities he had shown me, and particularly for the free access he had given me to the library; at the same time I made him a present of a wedge of gold, in value of fifty pounds, which he readily accepted. The next time I went to the library, I begged the favour I might see *The Book of Jasher*. He then immediately turned to the catalogue, where it was written, *The Volume of Jasher*. He conducted me into a long room, where he shewed me the chest it was in. He now informed me, that the key was in the hands of the city-treasurer, and that, upon proper application, I might see the volume. The custos introduced me to the treasurer, and related to him the substance of my request. He smiled, and said, he was not than at leisure, but he would consider of it. The next morning I sent John of Huntingdon to the treasurer with a wedge of gold of the value of one hundred pounds, by way of a present. By John, he sent me word, that he would meet me at the library about the ninth hour.

The time being come, the treasurer, the custos, and I met at the library, when the treasurer having unlocked the chest, shewed me the book, which he called, *The Volume of Jasher*. And then he locked the chest, and gave the key to the custos, telling him, that it was permitted that I might read in the volume, as often as I would, in the presence of the custos, and in the library.

The Book of Jasher is a great scroll, in width, two feet three inches, and in length about nine feet. It is written in large characters, and exceeding beautiful. The paper on which it is written is for thickness the eighth of an inch. To the touch it seemed as soft as velvet, and to the eye as white as snow.

The ark is of Mosaic work, finely and curiously wrought, but time and accidents have very much defaced the external ornaments of it.

After this I had free access to *The Book of Jasher.* The first thing which commanded my attention was a little scroll, entitled, *The story of the Volume of Jasher.* This informed me, that Jasher was born in Goshen, in the land of Egypt, that he was the son of the mighty Caleb, who was general of the Hebrews, whilst Moses was with Jethro in Midian ; that on the embassy to Pharaoh, Jasher was appointed virger to Moses and Aaron, to bear the rod before them ; that as he always accompanied Moses, Jasher must have the greatest opportunities, of knowing the facts he hath recorded ; that from his great attachment to truth and uprightness, he early received his name, ; that it was a common saying in Israel of him, *Behold the upright man* ; that Jasher wrote the volume which bears his name : that the ark was made in his lifetime ; that he put the volume therein with his own hands ; that Jazer, the eldest son of Jasher, kept it during his life ; that the princes of Judah successively were custoes thereof ; that the ark and book in the last Babylonish Captivity was taken from the Jews, and so fell into the hands of the Persian monarchs ; and that the city of Gazna had been the place of its residence for some hundred years.

This excited in me a great desire of reading the volume itself. The work was divided into thirty-seven parts or portions. One of these portions I read at this time and so two every day until I had read the whole through. The custos then informed me, that there were in the two side boxes of the chest, certain notes or remarks, which some of the ancients had made on several passages contained in *The Book of Jasher.* These also I read.

I had now conceived a great desire of returning to England, with a transcript of *The Book of Jasher*, and of the Notes. Hereupon, I and my companions petitioned the commonalty of the city, that we might have the liberty to taking a transcript thereof. Here we were opposed by the treasurer, and our petition was rejected. Some months after this, it came into my mind, that we would petition to have leave to make an English translation of the said Book and Notes. Accordingly, one morning, having drawn up the petition, I sent John of Huntingdon with it, and a wedge of gold to the treasurer with a letter desiring his opinion of it. After some days, I received for answer, that he had considered of my request, and would shortly relate the affair to the recorder of the city, and take his opinion thereon. Upon this, I despatched Thomas of Malmsbury with a wedge of gold, as a present to the recorder, together with a copy of the petition I had sent the treasurer. A few days after this, I received directions from the recorder, to attend the next court, and then our petition was granted. The order of court ran thus : " We grant unto Alcuin, and his two assistants, full liberty and power of translating out of the original Hebrew, *The Volume of Jasher*, with the Notes appertaining thereto, now contained in a chest in the public library of Gazna, into English, and into no other language whatever. And we likewise order, that the said English translation be made in the library, and in the presence of the custos at such times of the day as shall be most convenient to the said custos."

We soon began the translation in this manner : The manuscript was laid on a table, round which the custos and we sat. The custos opened the Volume, and we read the first part or portion, and were permitted to set it down in the original ; from whence we made each a translation, and then the custos burnt the part we had so transcribed. And this was the manner in which we proceeded, but the custos would not suffer us to carry home any of our papers.

In fine, after the labour of near a year and six months, we completed the translation of the Books and Notes, to which

translation this is prefixed. The treasurer and custos burnt all other papers wrote by either of us, and took from us the translation we had made.

In this dilemma we remained for some time, till, by a proper application, and by petitioning the court a second time, after having been solemnly sworn, that we had taken no other copy, nor were possessed of any other papers, besides that translation of *The Volume of Jasher*, then before the court, the translation was delivered to us, with a charge, that we should not let any person take a copy thereof in any place we passed through in our return to England ; which we solemnly promised ; and then we were dismissed, with proper credentials for our return through Persia.

We now re-assumed the pilgrims' dress, and after a stay of almost three year, left Gazna, and came to Ispahan, from thence to Casbin, and back to Rome. Here we stayed sometime, and I had an audience of the Pope, when I related to his Holiness, that I had seen *The Book of Jasher* spoken of in *Joshua*, and in the *Second Book of Samuel*. The holy father, who was now ninety-five years of age, turned to the places I referred to, and then cried out, *I have lived to the days of forgetfulness.*

After a short stay at Rome, we sailed for England, and landed at Bristol, after we had been absent seven years.

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We now reassumed the pilgrims' dress, and after a stay of almost three years, left Gazna, and came to Ispahan, from thence to Casbin, and back to Rome. Here we rested sometime, and I had an audience of the Pope, when I related to His Holiness, that I had seen *The Book of Jasher* spoken of in Joshua, and in the *Second Book of Samuel*. The holy father, who was near ninety-five years of age, turned to the places I referred to, and then replied, *I have lived to the days of forgetfulness.*

After a short stay at Rome, we sailed for England, and landed at Bristol, after we had been absent seven years.

Commercial Relation of Spain with 'Iraq, Persia, Khurāsān, China & India in the 10th century A.C.

By

Dr. S. M. Imamuddin, Dacca.

No book has been written on the commercial relation of Spain with foreign countries in the Medieval Age. The geographers made some references to the goods exported to foreign countries from Spain but hardly any reference to the articles imported from abroad have been made by them. However, historians and chroniclers came to their help and gave passing reference to both imports and exports. Their critical and minute study enables one to form an idea of the world wide trade of Muslim Spain. Speaking about the commercial progress in Muslim Spain, Colmeiro, a great economist of the 19th century, says : "In short, the 'Arab Spain maintains direct and frequent commercial relations with Italy, Morocco, North Africa, Egypt, Greece and Syria and indirect one with other parts of Central Africa and several regions of Europe and Asia, without excluding India and China"[1]. With the Muslim countries the Spanish Muslims themselves carried on foreign trade ; but with non-Muslim countries of Europe and Asia the trade was carried on by the Jews,[2] who were occasionally assisted by the *Mozarabs*.[3] Henri Peres asserts, "The Mozarabs and the Jews played the role of middlemen between North Spain (Christian Spain) and Andalus (Muslim Spain) and the Mediterranian regions, Byzantium, Baghdād and Cairo ....[4]" In the following pages a study is made of the commercial relation of Spain with 'Iraq, Persia, Khurāsān, China and India.

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1 *Historia de la Economia Politica en España* I, Madrid, 1868, p. 201.

2 Musta'rib (Arabicised Christians).

3 Ibn Khurdādbih, *the Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, Leyden, 1889, p. 153.

4 *La Poesie Andalouse en arab classique au XIe siecle* Paris 1937 p.327.

'Iraq :— Though there was political difference between the 'Abbāsids of Baghdād and the Umayyads of Cordova there had been cultural and trade relations between 'Irāq and Spain but very little on governmental basis. During the time of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II who imitated Ma'mūn and eastern culture many beautiful palaces were built for the decoration of which many objects of art and precious materials were imported from Baghdād and other places. When Muhammad al-Amin b. Hārūn of Baghdād was killed leading to confusion the court of Baghdād was ransacked, many rare and precious articles and beautiful jewels including the famous necklace of Zubaydah wife of Hārūn and mother of Ja'far called[1] 'Iqd al-Shafa' from the plundered goods were brought to Spain. There had been constant exchange of goods and merchandises between the two countries. Many Spanish pilgrims after visiting Makkah and Madīnah traded in 'Abbāsid territories.

Some 'Irāqī and Egyptian merchants came to Spain with valuables during the time of 'Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar b. Hājib al-Mansūr (1002-1007) and displayed their goods following the practice of their predecessors. Among the famous 'Irāqī merchants, who came to Spain on trade, were 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ja'far b. Muhammad b. Ishāq of Baghdād (320 H—413 H/932-1023 A.C.) and Tammām b. al-Hārīth b. Asad b. 'Ufayr al-Basrī nicknamed Abū Shal (born in 351 H/962 A.C.). The former came to Andalus in 350 H (961 A.C.) on trade and settled at Onda[2] and the latter came to Andalus with his son Sahl on trade in 420 H (1029 A.C.) and lived at Seville.[3]

Among the Spanish merchants who visited 'Irāq were the following :—

1 Ibn al-Khatīb, *the Kitāb A'māl al-A'lām*, II edited by Levi-Provencal Rabat, 1353/1934, p.21 Ibn Idhārī al-Marrākushī-*al-Bayān al-Maghrib fī Akhbār al-Maghrib* (ed. Dozy), II, 1851, p. 93; writes 'iqd al-Shaba.

2 Ibn Bashkuwāl the *Kitab al-Silah*, I, pp 367 8 no. 797

3 *Ibid*, I, p. 126, no. 282.

'Ubayd Allāh b. Yahya b. Yahya al-Laythī of Cordova nicknamed Abū Marwān was wise, rich and generous. He went on pilgrimage and trade and visited Egypt and 'Iraq. He died in Ramadān 298H (May 911 A.C.)[1].

Qasim b. 'Āṣim b. Khayrun b. Sa'īd al-Murādī a merchant of Pechina was nicknamed Abū Muḥammad (d.300H/912-13 A.C.). He was a learned man and visited Baghdād.[2]

Muḥammad bin Marwān b. Ruzayq of Baṭalyūs nicknamed Abū 'Abd Allāh known as Ibn al-Ghashī originally hailed from Merida. He was a wise and learned merchant and went to the East with his brother 'Abd al-Malik and visited Egypt and Baghdād. He died at the age of 95 years in 339H (June 950-951 A.C.)[3]

Aḥmad b. Khālid b. 'Abd Allah al-Jadhāmī al-Tājir of Cordova called Abu 'Umar (300H-Dhī al-qa'd 378/912—March 989 A.C.), was a famous merchant of Cordova. He went on trade to the East, visited Egypt, Makkah and 'Irāq and came back to Spain.[4]

'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Yaḥyā al-Tajibī of Cordova called Ibn al-Ziyāt and nicknamed Abū Muḥammad was born in Rabi' II 314H (June 926) and died in Rajjab 390 (June 1000). He was engaged in trade and went to the East on foreign trade and met many learned men at Baghdād and Baṣrah.[5]

'Abd Allāh b. Masarrah b. Najīh of Cordova nicknamed Abū Muḥammad was a Berber. While young he went trading to the East with his brother Ibrāhīm b. Masarrah and one 'Abd al-Salām

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1 Ibn al-Faradi, the *Kitāb Tārīkh 'Ulamā' al-Andalus* edited by Codera (Bibliotica Arabico Hispana, Tomo VII) I, pp.209-10, no.762.

2 Ibn al-Faradī, I, p. 291, no. 1053.

3 *Ibid*, II, p. 354, no. 1249.

4 *Ibid*, I, p. 53. no. 184.

5 *Ibid*, I, Pp. 206-7, no. 755.

al-Khushanī. He visited Baṣrah many a time and came in contact with the people of the place and returned to Andalus.[1]

Qāsim b. Aṣbagh al-Ḥajrī nicknamed Abū Muhammad of Seville went on pilgrimage to Makkah but trade dominated him and he visited Baghdād, where he also attended the lectures of many teachers. He was accompanied by Muḥammad bin Qāsim.[2]

Bakr b. al-'Ayn of Cordova nicknamed Abū Muhammad visited 'Irāq for trade.[3]

Export:—The Ṣaqālibah eunuchs, Catalan and French slaves,[4] Andalusian maids,[5] skin and leather dresses from khazz (marine wool) Wabar (hair) and of sammūr (marten)[6] linen and cotton cloth,[7] some perfume,[8] gold, corals,[9] quicksilver,[10] ṭīn (edible and medicinal earth).[11]

Import:- Saddles of Iraqiyan silk,[12] a kind of costume called matārif, embroidered horsecloth, tents, velvets,[13] necklace,[14] costly veils,[15] singing girls (the famous musician Qamar came from

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1 *Ibn al-Faradi* I, Pp. 179 81, no. 650.

2 *Ibid*, I, p. 295, no. 1063.

3 *Ibid*, I, p. 84, no. 285.

4 Kramers, Ibn Hawqal, p, 110; Maqdisi, the *Kitāb Ahsan al-Taqāsim fi Ma'rifat dl-Aqālim* (De Goejo) Leiden 1906, p. 242; Al-Hamadani, the *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān* (ed. De Goeje), p. 84.

5 Al-Hamadānī, p. 84.

6 Al-Hamadānī, p. 84; Ibn Khurdādbih, p. 153; Istakhrī, *the Kitab Masālik al-Mamālik* (ed. De Goeje) Leiden 1870, p. 45.

7 Kramers, 110, 114; Maqdisī, p. 239.

8 Al-Hamadānī, p. 84.

9 Iṣṭakhrī, p 45.

10 A.A. Dūrī, the *Tārīkh al-'Irāq*, Baghdad, 1948, p. 137n4, Moro-Rasis (*Memorias*, VIII, p. 51n2; Yāqūt, II, p. 281.

11 Ḥimyarī p. 133; Gayangos, *The Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* London 1840.

12 Maqqarī, *Azhār al-Riyāḍ fi Akhbār 'Iyāḍ*, II, Cairo 1359/1940, p. 263.

13 *Azhār*, II, pp.262, 273.

14 *Amāl*, p.21; Ibn Idhārī, II, p.93.

15 Ribera, Aljoxani, 165-/206,

Baghdād),[1] many books (the 'Arab *Anthology* of Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī of 'Irāq for which Hakam II paid one thousand dīnārs[2] was an outstanding example).

Persia:—Butler says that a Persian dealer in embroidered works and rugs travelled to Egypt and Spain in the early Muslim period.[3] Wathīmah b. Mūsā b. al-Furāṭ al-Fārisī al-Fasawi originally hailed from Persia from where he migrated to Baṣrah. He dealt with the trade of al-Washi' (rich embroidered cloth) and wrote a book on the Ridda war against the false prophets. He travelled to Egypt and came to Spain on trade. On his way back he died in Egypt in Jumādā II, 237 (Dec. 851 A.C)[4]

Among the Andalusian merchants who visited Persia was Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Bayānī al-Andalusi nicknamed 'Abd Allāh. He went to Persia and Khurāsān as a trader and visited 'Umān, and Narmashir, a town of Kirmān, Bistān, Nishāpūr, Jurjān and was seen at Ṭarābalas in Shawwal 332H (June, 944 A.C.) and at Barqah in 338H (949-50 A.C.)[5]

Export:— Many of the articles exported to the East mentioned by geographers must have seen their way to Persia also but the details are not known.

Import:—Various kinds of Persian carpets,[6] Persian gold and silver lace, doxtonies' imported from Doxtona, a town of Persia [7] and rose water from Jur a southern town of Persia.[8]

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1 Dozy. *Spanish Islam*, pp.378-9.

2 *Islamic Pottery*, London, 1926, p.100.

3 Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis fī Tārīkh Rijāl ahl Andalus*, (ed. F. Codera), Madrid, 1890, pp.468-9, no.11,5.

4 Ibn al-Faradī, I, p.352, no. 1241.

5 *Azhār*, p.263.

6 Ibn Bassam, *al Dhakīrah fi Mahāsid al-Jazīrah*, IV/I, Cairo, 1945, p. 65.

7 Sanchez Albornoz, *Estampas de la vida en Leon durante el siglo X*, Madrid, 1926, p. 20 n5

8 Ibn Hawqal, p. 213 quoted by Mez. *The Renaissance of Islam*, p. 466 n2.

Khurāsān :— Commercial relation of Spain existed even with the distant country of Khurāsān. Among the Khurāsānī merchants who came to Spain were the following :—

Isḥaq b. al-Ḥāsān b. 'Ali b. Aḥmad b. Mahdī al-Khurāsānī al-Bazzaz nicknamed Abū Tammām was a Sunni and pious Musulmān and came to Andalus on trade as reported by al-Khawlānī.[1]

Ibrāhīm b. 'Ali b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Daylmī al-Ṣufī of Kartam in Khurāsān was known as Abū Isḥaq. He came to Andalus in 358H (969 A. C.) and after staying for sometime in Cordova went back to the East. [2] The purpose of his visit is not known. Most probably he came on trade.

Naṣar b. al-Ḥasan b. Abū al-Qāsīm al-Tankatī nicknamed Abū al-Fataḥ and Abū al-Layth who settled at Samarqand was born in 406H (1015-6 A.C.). Visiting Egypt as a merchant he came to Spain in 463H (1071 A.C.) and traded in Valenoia in 464H (1072 A.C.) when it was suffering from draught. He died in 471H/1078-9. [3]

Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh of Khurāsān came to Andalus, [4] before Ibn al-Faraḍī died (1013 A.C.). The object of his visit is not known.

Among the Spanish merchants who visited Khurāsān were the following :—

Muḥammad b. al-Bayānī al-Andalusī went on trade to the East. Along with many other Persian towns he visited Khurāsān and was at Ṭarābalas in Shawwāl 332H (Jūne 944) and at Barqah in 338H (949-50 A.C.) [5]

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1 Ibn Bashkuwal, I, pp. 116-7. no. 260.
2 Ibn al-Fradi, I. p. 22, no. 50.
3 Ibn Bashkuwāl, II, pp. 577-9, no. 1285.
4 Ibn al-Faradī, p. 401, no. 1392.
5 *Ibid*, I, p. 351, no. 1241

Sa'īd b. Naṣar b. 'Umar b. Khalaf of Andalucia went to the East and visited many countries. He met in Khurāsān Abū Sa'īd b. al-'Arabī and Ismā'īl al-Saffār among others and died at Bukhārā on Wednesday, 11th Sha'bān 350H (September 961) ; but according to the author of the *Tārīkh Bukhārī* he died at Baghdād. [1]

'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Malik of Cordova nicknamed Abū al-Aṣbagh and known as Ibn al-Saffār went to the East. He visited Makkah, 'Iraq and went to Khurāsān where he accompanied Ba'iā known as 'Amīd al-Dawlah head of the city of Balkh. He earned much wealth and died at Bukhārā in 365H (975-6 A.C.) as related to Ibn al-Faraḍī by Abū al-Qāsīm al-Tājīr.[2] The objects of his visit to the distant countries were both literary and commercial.

Muhammad b. Ṣalāh al-M'āfiri was another Cordovan who went to the East most probably on trade and after visiting Makkah entered 'Irāq and whence he passed on to Khurāsān. He lived at Bukhārā till he died in 378H (988 A.C.) as reported by a merchant named 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allah. [3]

A. Vasiliev speaks about the 'Arab merchants trading in Russia in the 10th century. [4] The 'Abbāsid empire being a neighbour to Russia, the eastern 'Arab merchants had more opportunities of trading with the Russians than the Western 'Arabs as many hoards of 'Arab coins found in Russia indicate ; but there is also some possibility of the Spanish 'Arabs having penetrated into Russia as we know of several instances of the Spanish 'Arab merchants travelling as far as Khurāsān whence they might have easily passed on to Russia. This possibility can not be ignored in the absence of direct evidence. The

1 Al-Dabbī, pp. 300-1, no. 822.
2 Ibn al-Faradi, I, p. 233, no. 832.
3 *Ibid*, II, p. 382. no. 1353.
4 A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, Bruxelles, 1935, p. 14.

meeting of the Spanish merchants with the Russian ones in Byzantium was also quite possible.

Export :—Embroidered textile cloth[1] including many of the articles which were sent to the East.

Import :—Alban al-Baranki (of Barmak ?),[2] pelisses mostly of the marten's fur,[3] armour[4] and bows from Turkey.[5]

China & India :— It is a known fact that the 'Abbāsids of Baghdād during their heyday sailed to the Persian gulf which had become a very busy commercial centre, to the Indian coasts and to the Far East as far as the Chinese coasts. But by the 10th century when the Banū Umayyah rose to power in Spain and the Fāṭimids in Egypt, the 'Abbāsids decayed in 'Irāq and merchandise from China and India instead of coming to 'Irāq went to Egypt and the centre of trade shifted from the Persian gulf to the Red Sea in the East and the Mediterranean in the West. These eastern products came into Spain through Cairo and Alexandria. About these very flourishing commercial relations between the Far East and Spain more definite and original information is given by Ibn Khurdādbih when he wrote about the trade activities of the Jews who carried on the trade of the Eastern and Western products in the 9th century[6]. Quoting Mas'ūdī, Mez describes the route from Khurāsān to China followed by travellers in the 10th century. Due to the ammoniac found in the Peysan mountain, it was very hot and men could pass through that area only in winter but animals could not pass at all [7].

The Spaniards were not content with exchanging their goods with Indian goods in the busy ports of 'Adan and Baṣrah, in Syria or in Egypt; but they themselves went to China and India

1 Kramers, p. 110.

2 Ibn Bassam IV/I, p. 102.

3 Gayangos, II, p. 151.

4 *A'māl*, p. 119, *Azhār*, II, p. 262.

5 *Ibid*, p. 118.

6 Ibn Khurdādbih, pp. 153-154 ; Cf. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, p. 47.

7 Mez, (Salvador Vila), p. 522-3, Mez (Khudā Bakhsh), pp. 438-9.

to sell their own native products and bring back in their stead rare and useful foreign goods. But very few accounts of their visits to India or China have reached us.

Muhammad b. Mu'āwiyah b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'āwiyah b. Ishāq known as Ibn al-Aḥmar and nicknamed Abū Bakr hailed from Cordova. He left Spain for the East in 295H (907-8 A. C.) during the time of 'Abd Allāh. Al-Dabbī says that he did so before the year 300H (912-13 A. C.). He visited Egypt, Makkah, Baghdād, Kūfah, Basrah and Aballah and attended the lectures of the distinguished scholars of these places. He entered India as a merchant[1] and appears to have earned a lot by trade because Ibn al-Faradī says that when leaving India he had 30,000 dīnārs with him.[2]

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1 Al-Dabbī, however, gives the object of his visit to India to undergo a medical treatment. He had a qarḥah (an ulcer) in his nose or some where else which could not be cured in Spain and he was advised to go to India. There he consulted a physician, who agreed to treat him but on condition that after recovery all that he had he would give to the physician. The poor Andalusian, who loved his life more than his wealth, agreed cheerfully. He got recovered of this fatal disease and presented all that he had at the disposal of the physician. The latter took only a few things as a token of present and returned the rest saying that had he not agreed to pay him all that he had the physician would not have rendered him medical service. While crossing a river in the Muslim zone he was about to be drowned and he escaped only by swimming, losing all that he had. Thirty years after travelling and trading in foreign lands he came back to Spain in 325H (937 A. C.) during the time of 'Abd al-Rahman III and devoted himself to literary works. He died during the time of al-Ḥakam II in Rajjab 358H (June 969 A. C.). (*Cf.* Al-Dabbī, pp. 116-118, no. 271 ; Ibn Farhūn, *al-Dībāj*, Egypt, 1351/1932, p. 314). Most probably he wrote the short history of the Umayyad Khalīfah 'Abd al-Rahmān III, which has been edited and translated into Spanish under the title '*Una Cronica anonima de Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāsir* by Emilio Garcia Gomez and E. Levi-Provencal, Madrid-Granada, 1950. The publication is based on an incomplete manuscript. cf. my article '*Sobre El Autor de Una Cronica anonima de 'Abd al-Rahmān III alNāsir* in *Al Andalus*, XXI, 1956.

2 Ibn al-Faradī, II, pp. 362-4, no. 1287 ; al-Ḍabbī, pp. 116-118, no. 271.

Export:—The Jews carried from the West including Spain slaves, servants, dībāj (embroidered cloth), Khazz, skins of sammūr and swords to the East (India and China)[1]. Some other articles sent to the East, might have also reached India and China.

Import:—The Jews brought from China to the West (Spain and other countries) musk, aloe wood, camphor, cinnamon and other articles[2]. Other imported articles were shahdānj (canāmo) from India or China[3], plantain tree from India, Indian caps and helmets of wood[4], Indian spears and swords.[5]

1 Ibn Khurdādbih, p. 153.
2 *Ibid*, p. 153.
3 Banqueri, Libro de Agricultura, Madrid 1802. II, p. 117, 118.
4 Gayangos, I, p. 387 n6 ; Colmeiro, I, p. 184.
5 *Ibid*. II, p. 158.

A Rare Historical Scroll of Shah Jahan's Reign

By

Dr. M. Abdulla Chaghatai, Lahore.

The Persian document in the form of a cloth scroll, being described below for the first time, is fortunately preserved in the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. It measures ten feet in length and twentyone inches wide. It means that this is the largest historical scroll of those such historical documents so far have come to light. It deals with the DEED OF Gift of houses by Shantidas, the Nagar Seth or Lord Mayor of Ahmadabad during the reign of Shahjahan in favour of his own son Lakhshmi Chand.

The careful study of this most important historical document presents two aspects, *viz*: the personality of Shantidas and the descriptions of the houses. These both the aspects involve not only political history of Shahjahan's reign through Shantidas but also various cultural aspects of the Mughal period which are exclusively confined to Gujarat. We first describe here Shantidas and his family's brief history so that it would help to understand the importance of the document.

Shantidas who lived in Gujarat during the seventeenth century did not hold any official position but by virtue of his business connection and his vast riches he exercised influence at the Mughal court from the time of Jahangir to the accession of Aurangzeb. He was born probably during the last decade of Akbar's reign and the period of his life spreads over the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan, for he died in the very beginning of the reign of Aurangzeb. His father Sahsarkiran had two wives and he was born of Saubhagdevi. He appears to have travelled extensively in India. He was not only a foremost jeweller and financier of his day but also a devout Jain leader, he used to go on pilgrimage to various centres of Jainism.

On the accession of Shahjahan to the throne in 1628, Shantidas received from the Emperor gifts of horses and elephants. He was a luxurious person, having married four wives one after the other up to the year 1640. From the study of this document and the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* we find that he had four sons *viz*: Manek Chand, Panaji, Kapur Chand and Lakhshmi Chand. Prof. M. S. Commissiriat, a great authority on Gujarat history has already published a collection of Persian Farmans granted to Shantidas and his family by the Mughal Emperors which contain very useful information. Aurangzeb's one *farman* in favour of his youngest son Lakhshmi Chand shows that he inherited the status and title of his father and to whose line belongs to all the future Nagarseths of Ahmadabad.

An important event of Shantidas's life is this that he had built a magnificient temple in the suberb of Saraspur near Ahmadabad in 1625, which was dedicated to Chintamani Parswanath and Aurangzeb during the tenure of his viceroyalty (H. 1045/A.D. 1635) of Gujarat, had converted it into a mosque under the name of Quwwat al-Islam. This temple was visited by the French traveller Monsieur Thevenot in 1666. It is not known whether Shantidas represented this case of his temple's conversion, however, it is mentioned that some years later Aurangzeb's return from Gujarat, Ghairat Khan and other officials in Gujarat were ordered to restore the temple to Shantidas.

But the most important and most interesting episode of Shantidas's role is that which he played in the struggle for the throne among the sons of Shahjahan when it was just to start and Aurangzeb was marching from the Deccan towards the capital to meet his father ; and at Ahmadabad he met his brother Murad Bakhsh, the then Governor of Gujarat. Both the brothers discussed the political situation and signed a treaty of mutual alliance to meet with the situation created by Dara Shikoh. It is an open secret that after Aurangzeb left Ahmadabad for Agra, Murad violating the treaty, had immediately declared himself Emperor at Ahmadabad and he also struck coins in his own name

as Emperor. This whole affair of proclamation by Murad as Emperor, was most lavishly financed by this Shantidas who had loaned a grand sum of rupees five lack and fifty thousand to Murad, because he was the royal banker of nagarseth of Gujarat.

A *farman*, which is granted by Murad Bakhsh as Emperor to Shantidas and his family on 1st of the month of Shawwal in the first year of the blessed accession (22nd. June 1658) for the meritorious services rendered by them in giving a loan of Rs. 5,50,000. Because it describes that a loan for the Government, which is the foundation of the world and the details of which are described here, should be paid off from the revenue for the Kharif of the year from specified areas. This fact also finds unexpected confirmation from the *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, which relates that out of the total amount which Murad Bakhsh had raised from the inhabitants of Ahmadabad—Rs. 5,50,000 were due to the sons and brother of Shantida's Jawahari, who was favourite of the court and known to the exalted persons. He waited upon His Majesty (Prince Murad) after the defeat of Muhammad Dara Shikoh and the prince only four days before his own imprisonment, sent this *farman* with his own seal to Mu'tamad Khan for the repayment of the above mentioned loan.

Shantidas at this moment must have realised that the sanad just secured for the repayment of the large sum given to the prince as loan, was now hardly worth the paper on which it was inscribed unless it was confirmed by the victorious Aurangzeb. His efforts in this direction, for he was actually travelling with the camp, proved successful, as may be seen from the new *farman* brought to light, dated 21st of the month of Zi'l-Qa'da, 1068/10th August 1658, at which period Aurangzeb was probably encamped on the banks of the Satlaj on his march to Lahore in pursuit of Dara. This date is also important for another reason, for on it Shantidas received another *farman* from the same ruler granting him permission to leave the camp and return to his native city of Ahmadabad. The next *farman* in point of strict chronology is interesting as well as unique in the fact that it was

granted by Aurangzeb not to Shantidas but to his son Lahkshmi Chand, who is also the grantee of the Gift of the House noted in the document under discussion. It is dated 16th Jumada I, of the Ist reignal year (30th Jan. 1659) when Emperor was probably resting at Agra after his decisive victory over his brothers and he was anxious to win over to his side this powerful family of Gujarat, when Dara had not yet been captured. But the last *farman* granted by Aurangzeb in the very last year of Shantidas' life for it is dated 10th Rajab, 1070 A.H. (March 12, 1660) and was evidently intended to mark the Emperor's appreciation of his services rendered during the war of the succession. The contents show that Shantidas confirmed in the possession of the village, hill and temple of Palitana as well as a further grant of the hill and temples of Girnar under Junagadh and of Mount Abu under Sirohi as a special favour.

The Persian text of the scroll written in a fairly ordinary hand writing of those days, shows that this furnishes the description of the house in a very detailed manner and the house was situated in Ahmadabad city which belonged to Shantidas, the obedient to Islam, son of Sahskaran, son of Bachha Jouhari, who appeared in the court in Ahmadabad and made a statement to the fact that he had actually endowed the house to his son Lakhshman Chand. The description of the house with its diagram showing all stages and apartments as well as its boundaries, is completely given. At the end of the scroll, the date of its registration is given as 1st of the month of Rabi I, year 1067 A.H. (A.D. 1657). There is also the mention of two witnesses *viz* : Raghudas son of Bagjeo, son of Sarbiyal and Rattan Jeo son of Hans Raj, who attested this action of Seth Shantidas.

In short, here a brief description of the family of Shantidas and his importance at the Mughal Court from the history is given. The document itself which is in Persian bears very important terms of those days meant for such documents requires to be carefully worked out which will be given on some other occasion.

Administration of Justice under the Buwayhids of Baghdad (A.D. 946-1055)

By

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The Buwayhids on their arrival in Ba<u>gh</u>dād as the overlords of the Caliphal dominions inherited an elaborate administrative machinery from the 'Abbāsids. But at that time they were merely possessed of the traditions of a predatory horde with practically little or no experience of a settled government. On the other hand, the splendid administrative structure of the 'Abbāsids built up by generations of able rulers and ministers had already been breaking down as a result of incessant faction-fighting that characterised the pre-Buwayhid Amīr al-Umarā period (A.D. 936-946). This together with the administrative inexperience of the Buwayhids paved the way for further deterioration in the system. The revenue administration in particular underwent very sweeping changes under strain and stress of the new rule. But of all the administrative departments it was the Judiciary that escaped practically unmolested. This miraculous escape can be accounted for by the following factors: Firstly, the Judiciary in early Islamic History ever remained practically independent of control and interference by the mundane rulers because of the extremely religious character attached to it. Secondly even in the later period the Caliph despite encroachments on his powers and prerogatives by the various dynasties of Amīrs, succeeded in preventing any interference with the Judiciary which ever remained a department under his personal jurisdiction.

Unfortunately, however, the judicial system under the 'Abbāsids has not yet been adequately studied because of the extreme difficulty involved in the task. [1] An idea about the actual working

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[1] The first and the only one attempt ever made was by H.F. Amedroz in his article "The office of Kāḍī in the Ahkām Sultanīya of Māwardī", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (of Britain & Ireland), 1910, p. 761-796.

of the Islamic judicial machinery can be formed by collecting from a wide variety of sources noticed on the lives of the judges. The same is true of our period. The purpose of this paper is to show that the traditional machinery remained more or less in tact throughout the whole of our period though adequate materials are still lacking to show the elaborate working of it. In this connection we shall make mention of three important factors—first, the Islamic ideal of justice as set forth by Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Māwardī in his chapter on Qaḍā in the Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīya; second, some appointment letters of judges of the Buwayhid period; and finally scattered observations on the lives and activities of the judges of this period in the narratives of chroniclers and biographers. The ideal of al-Māwardī has a special significance for our period for he himself held the exalted post of Aqḍa al-Quḍāt—a post specially created for him for the first time during the Amirate of Jalāl al-Dawla (A.D. 1027-1044)—which he continued to hold uninterrupted till his death in 450 A.H. / 1058-59 A.D., his last three years of office coinciding with the Seljukid domination over the Caliphate.[1] Thus being himself a jurist of the foremost rank he was far from theorising on the subject, more so when his formulation of the duties and functions of the Qāḍī is almost exactly similar to the actual terms of appointment of the judges of the period.

For purposes of comparison we take al-Māwardī's treatment of the functions of Qāḍī Maṭlaq (Qāḍī Khāṣṣ being a type appointed for a particular purpose). Chief among the functions mentioned by him are: (1) deciding disputes, (2) administration of pious foundations, (3) giving effect to testamentary dispositions, (4) enforcement of liabilities, (5) infliction of fixed penalties (Hudūd), (6) inquiry into the character of any approved witness (Shāhid) and choice of proper deputies, relying on them if trustworthy and dismissing or changing them if otherwise, (7) and to deal equal justice to both weak and strong, and to the high and the low.[2] Among the qualifications elaborated by al-Māwardī

[1] Ibn al-Jawzi (I.J.), Hyderabad Ed. Kitab al-Muntazam Vol.VIII, 96,116,170

[2] Ahkam Sultaniya, ed. Enger, Bonn, 1853 pp. 117-119 and as translated by Amedroz in his article referred to above, JRAS, 1910, pp. 768-9.

mention may be made in particular of the Qāḍī's knowledge of the Law, which includes the Qu'rān, the Sunnah, the principle of Ijmā' and the power of right interpretation (Ijtihād).[1]

We are fortunate in possessing some appointment letters of the Qaḍīs of our period, two of which are extant in Ibrāhīm al Ṣābī's collection of official correspondence and two others in the text of a later chronicler Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597 A. H./ 1200-1 A. D.). The earliest of them is the letter issued by the Caliph al-Mutī' in Dhu'l hijja 356/May 966 appointing Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Qarī'a Qādī of Ahwāz.[2] The next letter issued by the same Caliph invested Abu'l-Hasan Ibn Umm Shaybān with the office of the Qādi al-qudāt in 363/973-4.[3] Another letter issued by the Caliph al-Ta'i' appointed the Qādi al-qudāt Abu'l-Husayn Ibn Ma'rūf [4] and still another issued by al-Qādir invested one Muhammad ibn Abdullah simultaneously with the offices of Governor and Qādī over the north-western province of Gīlān.[5]

A careful examination of the contents of these letters unmistakably reveal their close resemblance with al-Māwardī's formulation of the duties and functions of Qadī summarised as above these letters aparts from mentioning such general duties as sitting for judgment, enforcement of liabilities, infliction of fixed penalties, administration of pious foundations, supervision of the property of orphans, inquiry into the character of witnesses and dealing even-handed justice to great and small alike, also emphasise on the duty of having recourse to the Qur'ān, the Sunnah, Ijmā' and individual judgment (ijtihād) in giving judicial awards.[6] These letters also contain references to previous judicial

1 JRAS. 1910, 763-765.

2 Rasa'il al-Sabi, Lebanon, 1899 (Part I), 143-150.

3 I. J. VII, 64-65: It is of interest to note that his area includes territories like Syria and Egypt which were then under the Fatimid domination.

4 Rasa'il al-Ṣabi, 115-125.

5 I. J. VII, 208-9.

6 Sābīs Letters, 120-123, 146-148, I. J. VII, 65, 209.

decisions and the Qādīs are in general advised to abide by them provided these are in conformity with the principles of Ijmā'.[1] Moreover, the portion dealing with the necessity of showing impartiality between weak and strong, high and low also contains in one place the additional clause 'between a Muslim and a non-Muslim.'[2] These 'Uhūd' being concerned with the actual functioning of the Qādī's department further enjoin on the judge the duty of appointing a few other functionaries to run his office. The functionaries named are : (1) Assistant Judge, (2) Secretary, (3) Court-usher (Hājib), and (4) the Keeper of Records (Khājin) whose qualifications and functions are also elaborately drawn.[3] That such Officers were actually appointed and were paid fixed salaries from the state-exchequer is also known from Ibn al-Jawzī's account. The Qādi al-qudāt Ibn Umm Shaybān, already mentioned above, after having first refused to accept Office agreed later on condition that his secretary should be paid from the Treasury 300 dirhams, his court-usher 150, his assistant 100 and his Keeper of Records together with the latter's staff 600 every lunar month though he himself refused any salary.[4]

There was a general fear and antipathy among the jurists of the early period against the acceptance of the judicial assignments. Even though some of them accepted a job it was again considered highly improper to receive salary on that account. These tendencies are equally persistent in our period. A story related by al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994) depicts the Hanafi jurist Abū Zuhayr al-Jubbā'ī as taking the pious Abul-Hasan al-Karkhī (d. 340/951-2) severely to task for the latter's acceptance of pay as a judge from the 'Abbāsids.[5] The story related of another Hanafī jurist Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn Ali al-Rāzī (d. 370/981) with the Maliki jurist Muhammad ibn Abdullah al-Abhurī (d. 375/986) is clearly indicative of the characteristic apathy among the jurists

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1 Sābī's Letters, 125,149.
2 *Ibid*, 120.
3 *Ibid*, 121-124, 148-9.
4 I. J. VII, 64.
5 Al-Tanūkhī, Nishwār al-Muhadara, Part II, as translated in Islamic Culture, 1931, p. 189.

towards acceptance of posts under the mundane authorities. Al-Abhurī when approached by the Caliph al-Mutī' to accept the post of Qādi al-Qudāt refused and asked the Caliph's envoys to request al-Rāzī in the matter. Meanwhile al-Abhurī in private discouraged al-Rāzī from accepting the post and the latter when approached refused accordingly. The Caliph's envoys charged al-Abhurī of double-dealing in reply to which he is said to have cited an example of Malik ibn Anas who on the one hand advised the inhabitants of Madīna to make Nāfi' Imām of the mosque of the Prophet and on the other asked Nāfi' not to accept the offer and then justified his conduct by saying,- "I pointed out Nāfi' to you for I do not know anyone more suitable than him and I advised Nāfi' not to accept because he would thereby make enemies". "Likewise", said, al-Abhurī, "I showed him to you for I do not know anyone like him and I asked him not to accept the post for he has completely surrendered himself to the cause of religion." [1] Some judges of the period though ultimately agreed to accept any post made it conditional upon non-acceptance of salaries. Abū Bishr 'Umar Ibn Aktham accepted first the post of a Qāḍī and then that of the Qāḍī al-quḍāt on condition that he would not accept any salary (352 A.H/963 A.D.)[2] Abul-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn Umm Shayban when offered the post of chief Qāḍī as mentioned above first refused but later agreed to accept on condition that he would draw no salary and on the further condition that he would receive no robe of honour nor would he be asked to do anything contrary to the rules of the Shariah (363/973-4). [3] One is led to speculate as to what might have been the means of livelihood of such a Qāḍī as would refuse to accept any salary. In one case at least we know that one Qāḍī Abu Sa'īd al-Ḥasan al Sīrāfī, before he went out every day either to hold court or deliver lecture used to transcribe in beautiful hand writing ten pages which earned him ten dirhams just enough for his daily sustenance. [4]

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1 I.J. VII, 106, 131.
2 Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam Ed Amedroz, Vol. II, 196; I: J. VII (Misk)
3 I.J. VII, 64.
4 I.J. VII, 95.

Throughout the whole period the appointment of judges and their continuation in office chiefly depended on the pleasure of the Caliph who, despite his loss of many other powers and prerogatives, clung tenaciously to the prerogative of maintaining the judiciary under his personal supervision and was himself comparably less capable of interfering with the normal work of that department. Moreover he resisted with all the power at his disposal any interference on the part of the Amīr. A few cases of appointments and dismissals by the Amīr over the head of the Caliph that are mentioned here and there are far too insignificant compared to frequent victimisation of other state functionaries whose terrible lot besmears the pages of the chronicles.

Mu'izz al-Dawla, the first of the Buwayhid Amīrs, who brought the caliphate down to the depth of humiliation in several ways such as by dragging down the Caliph al-Mustakfī from the throne, depriving the new Caliph al-Mutī 'from the prerogative of having a Wazīr and reducing him to a mere stipendiary,[1] however, did not at the beginning, think fit to interfere in any way with the judiciary. It was not till after sixteen years of Amirate that acute financial difficulties dictated to him a course of action which was both detestable and inexpedient. He took the opportunity of the death of the Shafi'ī Qâdi al-qudât Abūl-Sâ'ib 'Utbah al-Hamadânī in Rabi, ii 340/May 961 (who had been Qâdī al-qudât for 12 years since his appointment in Rajab 338/December 949) to offer the post to Abu'l-'Abbâs 'Abdullâh ibn Abi, l-Shawârib in exchange for an annual payment of 200,000 dirhams, in a desperate attempt to replenish his depleted Treasury. [2] This was no doubt a sheer black mail. However, though the Caliph al-Mutī '(since he himself owed his office to Mu'izz al-Dawla) could not resist the appointment he succeeded in restraining the Qâdi al-qudât from either seeking interview

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1 Misk. II, 86-87.

2 Misk. II, 188-9

with him or appearing with him in public on ceremonial occasions. Moreover, the Qâdī had to receive his robes of honour from the Amir's Palace, so that the appointment became a mockery and a farce. [1]. Mu'izz al-Dawla's action was so repugnant that it was also bound to elicit stern protest even from his co-religionists. Thus two years later at the intervention of the 'Alid ascetic and divine, Abū 'Abdullâh al-Dâ'ī, who implored Mu'izz al-Dawla in the name of 'Alī ibn Abī Tâlib to cancel the appointment, Ibn Abi, l-Shawârib was dismissed. It appears from an anecdote in the Tadhkira of Ibn Hamdūn that Mu'izz al-Dawla this time rose high above ordinary mundane considerations and after thoroughly investigating the qualifications of all the six persons mentioned to him by the Alid finally gave the post to Abū Bishr 'Umar ibn Aktham, already mentioned above,who agreed on condition that he would not accept any salary and would cancel all the previous decisions of his predecessor. In sharp contrast to his previous behaviour Mu'izz al-Dawla applied a variety of criteria on this occasion. He rejected some persons as unacceptable because they hailed from outside Baghdād, he thought another unfit as he encouraged music and song, another because he was a relative of the Caliph and still another as he happened to be one of his favourites and his appointment might evoke criticism. [2]

The only one instance of dismissal and arrest of a chief Qāḍī is that of Abū Muḥammad 'Ubaydullāh ibn Ma'rūf by Aḍud al-Dawla, the most powerful of the Buwayhid rulers (369/979-980). [3] The same Amīr was, however, strongly in favour of leaving the judge absolutely free within his own jurisdiction and once summarily rejected a recommendation from one of his favourite generals calling for interference with the normal work of a Qāḍī. He said on this occasion — "Abū Zuhayr, what have you to do with an application of this sort regarding testimony and witnesses?

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1 Misk. II, 189.

2 Misk, II, 196; British Museum MSS. or 3180 fol. 201 b as cited by Amedroz in JRAS, 1910, p. 789-790.

3 Misk. II, 399; I.J. VII, 98.

The applications that concern you are those pertaining to increase of pay or bestowal of commissions, in particular promotions from one rank to another. As for the acceptance of testimony neither you nor I have anything to do. That is the concern of judges." [1] A later Amīr Jalāl al-Dawla (A.D. 1027—1044, failed in his attempt to arrest the famous Qāḍi al-quḍāt Abū 'Abdullāh Ibn Mākūlā on account of a strong protest from the Caliph al-Qādir. The remarks made by the Caliph on this occasion show on the one hand the depth of degradation into which the exalted office of the caliphate had fallen and the Caliph's bold assertion of the independence of the judiciary, on the other. He said, "Nothing remained of our affairs except this deputy who is now in our protection. He is for your sake and does not serve any interest of mine. This Qaḍi does not perform any political function (تصرفاً سلطانياً) so as to deserve any condemnation. [2]

In spite of the fact that the Buwayhids were Shī'ītes they never tried except on one occasion to impose a judge of their community on the people, the bulk of whom subscribed to the sunnite creed. The judges were appointed by the Caliph from one of the recognized schools of Law—the Shāfi'ite, the Ḥanafite and the Malikite. There is an instance of a Zāhirite being appointed by 'Aḍud al-Dawla as a chief Qāḍī, who in his turn employed one of his followers over a part of Baghdād. [3] Adherence to Mu'tazilism does not seem to have been a disqualification and several judges during the early period were either Mu'tazilites or alleged to have been Mu'tazilites, though the Caliphs al-Qādir and al-Qā'im later indulged in public vituperation of the Mu'tazilites. The only one instance of a Shi'ite being pressed for as a chief Qāḍī was the appointment of Sharīf Abū Aḥmad al-Husayn ibn Mūsā, whom the Amīr Bahā al-Dawla invested with the posts of

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1 Abu Shujā' Rūdhrāwarī, Dhayl Tajārib (Ed. Amedroz) Vol. III 65-66.

2 I.J. VIII, 89.

3 Misk. II, foot note of p. 399-400 (on the authority of al-Dhahabī).

Qāḍi al-Quḍat, Amīr of Hajj, Qāḍī of the Mazalim Courts and Naqīb of ʻAlids. The Caliph al-Qadir strongly remonstrated with the Amīr and his appointment to the post of chief judge was cancelled. [1]

It appears from a close examination of the lives of judges of this period that the really capable ones could continue in office for quite a long period. This also contributed towards the general stability of the judiciary. Some instances are worth-mentioning. Qāḍī Abū Muḥammad ibn Maʻrūf, mentioned above, was first appointed Qāḍī of Western Baghdād in Shaʻbān 356/July 967. [2] He was promoted to the office of Qaḍī al-quḍat in Shaʻban 360/ May-June 971. In 363/973-4 he resigned in protest against an illegal move on the part of the Caliph al-Muṭīʻ who wanted him to legalise the sale of a house belonging to a deceased chamberlain of the Caliph in supersession of the rights of the orphan left by the deceased. As a protector of the property of the orphan the Qāḍī refused and forthwith resigned. He thus chose to remain out of office for one year till he was reappointed by the new Caliph al-Taʼi ʻnext year. [3] But when ʻAḍud al-Dawla established himself in Baghdād after killing his cousin Bakhtiyār he had in his entourage his Chief Qāḍī of Shīrāz—the Zāhirite Imām Abū Saʻad Bishr Ibn al-Husayn whom he appointed Qāḍi al-quḍāt in 369/978-80 after dismissing and arresting Ibn Maʻrūf on some minor pretexts. [4] However, after the death of ʻAḍud al-Dawla his son Sharaf al-Dawla not only released him in 372/383 but reinstated him in 376/986-7 in which position he remained till his death in Safar 381/April-May 991. Thus his career as a judge extended over a period of 25 lunar years with two intervals in the midst. [5]

1 I.J. VII, 226-227.

2 *Ibid*, 38.

3 I.J. VII, 64, 76; Misk. II. f.n. of p. 339 (on the authority of Takmila).

4 Misk. II. 399 also footnote of pp. 399-400; I. J. VII, 98.

5 Shuja, Dhayl, 136 (mentions his reappointment); I. J. VII, 166 (his obituary).

Another Qāḍi al.quḍāt who held office for a long period of 27 lunar years was Abū 'Abdullāh ibn Makūlā (A.H. 420-447/.AD. 1029-1055). He was a Shāfi'ite and enjoyed a much more uninterrupted tenure of office except for an attempted arrest of him by the Amīr Jalāl al-Dawla, which as already referred to, ended in a failure. He served under the Caliphs al-Qādir and al-Qā'im and died while in office like Ibn Ma'rūf in Shawwāl 447/Dec-Jan, 1055, one month after the entry of Tughril Beg into Baghdād. [1] A subordinate Qāḍī named Abū Muḥammad A'bdullāh Ibn al-Akfāni served the judiciary for about forty years in his capacities as an assistant judge and also as a full-fledged judge. [2]

An innovation of the period was the creation of the post of Aqḍa al-quḍāt which was held by Abu'l-Hasan al-Māwardī the author of "Aḥkām al-Sultānīya" and which existed simultaneously with that of Qāḍi al-quḍāt. [3] However, it is not clear as to what was the relation between the holders of these two offices. While it appears from the chronicles that the Qāḍi al-quḍāt did the normal work of the Chief Judge the Aqḍa al-quḍāt seems to have been a special envoy of the Caliph negotiating on his behalf with the vassal rulers or playing the arbiter in the dispute between the Caliph and the Amīr. [4] The title might have been, in all probability, an honorary one conferred upon al-Māwardī in recognition of his outstanding merit as a jurist and his profound learning.

Apart from the Qāḍi al-quḍat who was the Chief of the judiciary and held court at the metropolis there were several other judges under him, also as a rule, appointed by the Caliph, over important towns and localities with specific jurisdictions. The judicial units did not in any way coincide with administrative or fiscal units. This further ensured independence of the

1 I J VIII, 167.
2 I. J. VII, 273.
3 I. J. VIII, 97, 116, 170.
4 I. J. VIII, 85, 116, 113-4.

judiciary. We have the appointment letter of a Qāḍī of Gīlān, already mentioned above, who combined in him, according to this letter of investiture also the governorship of this Province, which seems to have been a special case. [1] Baghdād itself with its adjoining areas was divided into four units of judicial administration, the number sometimes shrinking on account of death or other exigencies and the vacant unit then assigned to some other judge. [2] We have also mention of one single judge for the whole of Baghdād on account of similar reasons. [3]

Now something about the witnesses (Shūhūd). There appears to have been like the previous period an approved list of witnesses which was liable to change and modification. It was one of the duties of the qāḍī to appoint for this purpose only persons of unquestionable character. According to the Muslim Law of testimony none but persons noted for integrity and piety can be received either as witnesses in a court of justice or as witnesses to bonds and deeds. To meet this necessity the system of having a list of approved witnesses was introduced in course of time. The number of approved witnesses might sometimes increase through solicitation or decrease through death, accidents or disapproval. After the death of the Qāḍi al-quḍāt Ibn Mā'rūf their number in Baghdād increased through bribe and intercession to 303 which was considered to be a number out of proportion to the needs of the capital. [4] On the other hand some five years

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1 I. J. VII, 2u8 9.

2 Misk. II, 399-400, mentions four judges over four well-defined areas of Baghdad, two of them in Eastern Baghdad one from Mukharrim upwards another from Mukharrim downwards: Two others in Western Baghdad, one over the upper part including Madinat al-Manṣur and the other over the lower part called Sharqiyya *see* Le strange, Baghdad during the Caliphate (for exact locations); Shujā', 277 mentions 4 judges; *Ibid* 372, mentions 3 on account of the death of one ; I J. VII, 38, mentions two judges.

3 I. J. VII, 273.

4 I. J. VII, 168; Shuja f. n. of p. 243 on the authority تاريخ الاسلام of al-Dhahabi.

later in 386 A.H./996-7 A.D. the number shrank to a few only and it was found difficult to have a deed of sale attested on account of the paucity of number. [1]

And finally before we conclude we reproduce a case from Abū Shujā' 'which will at once reveal the spirit of the age, the rivalry between the Caliph and the Amīr, rivalry between the judges themselves, victimisation of the witnesses and also give some idea about the procedure followed in cases of attestation. Two traders went on pilgrimage and while at Makka one of them sold the other a plot of land situated in the Karkh at Baghdād. Another trader-pilgrim was a witness. When the purchaser returned to Baghdād he wanted to have his contract recognized by the four Qāḍis of Baghdād on the evidence of the trader who had attested. In a general order the Caliph al-Qādir had directed the qāḍis to accept the attestation of only trustworthy persons. The purchaser, to be sure of his case, obtained from the Amīr Bahā al-Dawla letters of recommendation addressed to the Qadis direct and also to Sharīf Abul-Hasan Muhammad ibn Umar, an influential courtier and the Wazīr Abū Manṣūr ibn Ṣālihān (the Amir's representative in Baghdād) to confirm the sale. On the intercession of the Wazīr all the Qādīs agreed to comply except one Abū 'Abdullāh al Dabbī who insisted on the Caliph's standing order. The three Qāḍīs then proceeded to accept the evidence when they were called to the Palace of the Caliph and severely taken to task. Meanwhile certain witnesses had certified the character of the traders. The dissenting Qāḍī declared these witnesses as unfit and the Caliph now ordered their names to be removed from the list in a declaration from Public Mosques. Then Ibn Hājib al-Nu'mān (who was soon to be appointed the Caliph's secretary on account of his dexterity in dealing with this complex case) took on himself the task of explaining the situation to the Caliph. While warning the Caliph that such a course of action would alienate Bahā al-Dawla, he held that the judges and the witnesses had done nothing wrong. He also said that the

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Shujā', 278-279.

witnesses whom the Caliph had dismissed were persons of high integrity and if their veracity was questioned it would be difficult to have the attestation made as one witness was dead, another absent, a third a member of the Caliph's family and still another an untrustworthy person. So the Caliph sent a rescript upholding the action of the Qāḍīs and witnesses. [1]

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1 Shuja' 277, 280.

WARAQAH BIN NAWFAL

By

Dr. Yusuf Abbas Hashmi, Karachi.

In the midst of the wreck of the empires and the nations, in the wild turmoil of the tribes and the clans, there was a voice in the air.........east and west, north and south............that God's message was close at hand; the shepherd was nigh who was to call back the erring flock into the Master's fold. Had it spoken to the heart of Waraqah b. Nawfal also ?

The personality of Waraqah b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-Uzza b. Qusayy, first cousin of Khadija the wife of the Prophet Mohammad, has remained somewhat obscure and doubtful. By the Muslim Traditionists and Sira writers he has not been given any undue importance and has been discarded as one of the several contemporaries of the early days of the Prophet who were in search of the truth but the TRUTH never dawned upon them, while to the orientalists these contemporaries appear to have obtained certain light in search of the truth and influenced the Prophet in his mission. These orientalists even go a step further and have the courge to suggest that Mohammad was not only influenced by them but even learnt from them. Waraqah b. Nawfal is claimed to be one of them. In the following pages an attempt will be made to show that the truth never dawned upon Waraqah that he was and remained a disillusioned person, that he in no way influenced the Prophet and that the Prophet learnt nothing from him. We will also see as to what was the depth of his knowledge and of what value it could have been to the Prophet. In the end the mental reservation of the orientalists with which they work will be exposed and the complex under which they suffer will be brought to light.

About the birth, early life and such other details of Waraqah's life, which to me appear unnecessary here, I will say nothing. I will confine my remarks to the relevant portions alone.

First of all I will describe in brief the opinions of some of the European authors about Waraqah:

In the opinion of MUIR (p. 36) Waraqah had an acknowledged share in satisfying the mind of Mohammad that his mission was divine. According to him (p. 36) Waraqah saw in the teachings of Mohammad the counterpart of his own ideas. "Mohammad learnt the life of 'OUR' Saviour" as Muir puts it from Waraqah's translation of the Gospel." V. Vacca, in his article in Encyclopedia of Islam on Waraqah maintains that he encouraged Mohammad. Lammens (in Researches de Science des Religions, VIII, p. 18 of 1918) suggests that Waraqah influenced Mohammad in his mission. Caetani (Annali dell' Islam, Introduction, pp. 156 and 182) regards him as an independent religious thinker and was the first to suggest that he influenced Mohammad. Sprenger (Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad I, pp. 91-92) has an altogether different story to tell about Waraqah: "I believe that Waraqa earlier to the Prophethood of Mohammad was still a Hanif and one of those who believed that the spirit of God speaks through him. He believed in Mohammad so long as he (Mohammad) remained loyal to the Hanif religion but the deceits of Mohammad and his denial of his earliest convictions in the year 616 made him to abjure Hanif religion and to consider Mohammad as an imposter. Not long afterwards when the Christians of the various sects came to Mecca he became a member of the Orthodex Church of Jesus and died as a Christian". Sprenger (p. 91) further refutes the theory that Waraqah told Mohammad in advance of his mission and maintains that the biographers of the Prophet and the Traditionists suffer him, out of necessity, to die an early death (p. 92).

This shows that among the Europeans themselves there is no agreement as to the real career of Waraqah in relation to the Prophethood of Mohammad. Now I will mention certain definite facts about the relevant life of this Christian Meccan. The

description which now follows is based on Bukhari (Sahih, Babu't Ta'bīr), Ibn Hisham (Cairo Ed. of 1355/1937; pp. 121, 143, 149, 155, 205); Isaba of Ibn Hajar (Cairo, 1325, VI, p. 317); Tabaqat Ibn Sa'd (I/i, 58, 130); Kitabu'l-Aghani (III, pp. 14-15), etc. etc.

Waraqah was one of those who in the days of heathenism denounced idolatry. He was in search of THE Religion of Abraham, (Din Hanif) and read the holy scriptures. Later on he embraced Christianity and translated some of the portions of the Gospels for his personal use. At the time of the ministry of the Prophet, Waraqah was old and blind. Khadija took the Prophet to him after the first revelation who recognised in the personality of Mohammad the promised Prophet. He died soon after.

When the orientalists studied these hard and simple facts in the works on Traditions and Sira they faced a very complicated problem. If they were to regard these Sira and Hadith descriptions genuine it would amount to the truth in Mohammad's mission ....which they were never going to concede. Moreover. there was the reference by Christ to the future "COMFORTER" (Ahmad) in the Gospels of John, 15:25. The recognition of Mohammad by a Christian purturbed the orientalists because the Muslims were to support their argument in the light of that evidence. This has been done thrice by Bukhari (pp. 2, 739 and 1033), twice by Muslim (I, 112), once in Tabari (I, 1147-52) and once in Kitabu'l-Aghani (I, 138). If they were to reject the hard history of Waraqah as mere fiction and fabrication (as Sprenger has done) then they were to disallow their co-religionist a chance to seek after Truth......... because you either reject the whole or accept it but you can't retain those portions suitable to you and reject those non-palatable to you...... .....and the poor wavering fellow tried to seek it first in the Hanif religion and subsequently in Christianity.

I will now try to show that who has actually distorted the history of Waraqah (in the words of Sprenger, p. 91), the earlier Sira and Hadith writers or the modern orientalists.

Waraqah was not the only figure among the early contemporaries of the Prophet in Mecca and in the neighbouring cities of Taif and Medina who were fed up with the pagan ways of the Arabs, denounced idolatry, and were in search of the Truth. Zaid b. 'Amr, Umayya b. Abi Sad and 'Ubaidullah b. Jaḥsh were the three others. In the words of Sprenger (p. 87) Zaid tried to repose his confidence both in Judaism and Christianity but neither of them met his expectations. He died, alas, before the ministry of Mohammad (Ibn Hisham, p.149) a disillusioned person. Waraqah b. Naufal composed an elegy over Zaid declaring him therein, on the right path (Ibn Hisham, p. 150). It is a fact that Zaid (Ibn Ishak) died just at the time of the ministry of the Prophet. If it is correct that Waraqah wrote the elegy this would amount that Waraqah was alive when Mohammad declared himself as the Prophet of Allaḥ. According to several Sira writers Waraqah is reported to have died in the 2nd or the 3rd year of the mission of the Prophet.

If Waraqah knew the Greek and translated certain passages of the Gospel in the Arabic-Hebrew of the days there is nothing wrong in the proposition. It is a fact that he was one of the few literate men among the Meccans of his days. Being disillusioned of the now corrupt Hanif religion of Abraham he turned towards Christianity. Sprenger says (p. 132) that during the days of Mohammad translations of the Bible into Arabic were available. Of course, he does not mention any authority. As against this Muir remarks (p. 156): "It is very doubtful whether an Arabic translation of the scriptures, or any part of them, was ever within Mohammad's reach, notwithstanding the Traditions regarding Waraqah having copied from them." Be that as it may, even if we concede, for the sake of discussion that Waraqah did translate certain portions of the Bible in the spoken language of Mohammad it would in no way help the orientalists to conclude that he, thereby, influenced Mohammad as we will presently see. But who knows that Waraqah translated that very portion of the Bible of John (15:25) in which a prophecy had been made by Christ about the

coming of the "COMFORTER" (Ahmad) ? AND the poor blind disillusioned Christian was thus convinced of the Prophethood of Mohammad. Sura Ikhlas is one of the earliest of the Meccan revelations. It points out the fundamental errors of many religions, including Christianity, in its four short sentences. The first verse proclaims the absolute unity of the Divine Being, and deals a deathblow to all forms of polytheism, including the doctrine of Trinity. In the second verse Allah is said to be " SAMAD "... ......the Lord to Whom recourse is had in every need (Musnad of Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal). This statement negatives the doctrine according to which soul and matter are co-eternal with God. The third verse points out the error of those religions which describe God as being father or son, such as the Christian religion. The fourth verse negatives such doctrines as the doctrine of incarnation, according to which a mere man is likened to God. In one word one can say that this verse gives the sum and substance of the teachings of the Holy Quran. What to talk of Waraqah b. Nawfal, all the orientalists put together, cannot produce a similar verse from the Bible. To me, therefore, it appears to be mischievious to say that Waraqah influenced the Prophet. That Waraqah, like Mohammad, also disliked the evil social and moral practices of the Meccan society amounts to nothing because, not to speak of the master-mind of the Prophet, even ordinary intelligent person could have seen it with his own eyes. It is also not correct to say that Waraqah encouraged the Prophet or read the portions of the translated Gospel to him. Quran (16:103) says, "And indeed We know that they say: Only a mortal teaches him. The tongue of him whom they hint at is foreign ('Ajami), and this is clear Arabic language." Khazin (Lubabu't-Tawil) in his marginal notes on the Tafsir of Baiḍawi, among 'Bas͟har' mentions the names of certain Christian slaves such as Jabr, Yasir, 'Ais͟h or Ya'īs͟h, Qais and 'Addās. None of the commentators has mentioned the name of Waraqah b. Nawful. Who could have been in better position than Waraqah because these slaves were the earliest converts to Islam............a forgery of their own creation (may God forbid). Moreover, none has mentioned that Waraqah ever read to Mohammad anything.

That Waraqah died in the 2nd or the 3rd year of the Call is also historically sound. None of the Sira writers (including Wakidi), narrators (including Abu Huraira) and the traditionists including those Traditions which are weak and unauthentic) speak from Waraqah after the above mentioned period. He was not forced to die as Sprengers suggests. The contention of Sprenger that Waraqah remained a Hanif and supported the cause of Mohammad till such time the latter himself observed Hanif religion and subsequently, when Mohammad introduced his own faith, Waraqah abjured Hanif religion and turned a Christian is also not historically proved. Firstly, there was no such religion as Hanif, but it was an expression given to the then extinct religion of Abraham. If Mohammad and Waraqah are to be regarded as the followers of Hanif religion in the sense that both of them believed in the absolute Unity of the Divine Being ....the cardinal principle of Abraham's teaching............we have nothing to say. But Mohammad maintained this principle throughout his life. Where was the necessity for Waraqah, then, to leave Mohammad and to search in Christianity which was not there? It is, therefore, clear that when we first meet Waraqah in history he was a Christian. One can create good fiction but it will always remain a bad history.

Whether Waraqah recognised in the personality of Mohammad the future Prophet now remains to be discussed. All the earliest biographers of the Prophet, and the Traditionists have mentioned this fact. He is not the single solitary individual who committed this mistake. The names of Bahira and Nestor are also mentioned. That there was a conscious systemetic and consistent effort on the part of Sira writers and Muhaddithin to bring in Christian savants, monks or learned persons for purposes of supplying foreign proof in the prophethood of Mohammad remains to this day a charge totally unfounded. What is there in the Sira and Hadith books is incorrect and that which does not exist there 'might have been' is a hopelessly bad logic. It is to this sense of the criticism of the orientalists that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad while discussing the unimpeachable authenticity of

the internal and external system of evidence adopted by the Sira and Hadith writers had to declare in his book "The Problem of the Khilafat" that if you (the orientalists) disbelieve what our Muhaddithin have said then how you can force me to believe that Alexander ever existed.

The historical criticism came to be employed in Islamic learning later than in other spheres of literature and the wave of scepticism and over-criticism, which elsewhere have of long softened to cooler prudence and dispassionate judgement, has not modified as yet in this case. At first, this intellectual historical situation makes it understandable that in this sphere theories with inadmissible generalization can be advanced which turn solitary instances into principles. To this domain belongs *e. g.* the thesis propounded by Lammens and Sprenger that there is no other true transmission on the life of the Prophet except the one in the Quran and that the Sira is a collection of apocryphic legends. Such radical theories must be a closed chapter now. Whosoever gives to these Muslim sources their due without prejudice will find in them a treasure of historical life.

the internal and external systems of criticism adopted by the Sira and Hadith writers has to pledge in his book "The Problem of the Hadith" that "if you (the orientalists) disbelieve what our Muhaddithin have said then how can you force me to believe what your writer pointed out."

The historical criticism seems to be exaggerated in Islamic learning to-day than in other spheres of thought, and the zeal for rationalism and over-criticism, which characterise hosts of critics, to confer prudence and dispassionate judgment, has not modified as yet in this case. At first, this intellectual historical discussion makes it understandable that it is this type of theories with individualistic generalization can be advanced which turn solitary instances into principles. To this domain belongs, e.g., the thesis propounded by Lammens and Sprenger that there is no other reliable tradition on the life of the Prophet except the one in the Quran and that the Sira is a collection of apocryphal legends. Such radical theories must be a closed chapter now. Whosoever approaches these Muslim sources with due critical principles will find in them a treasure of historical life.

Modern Muslim movements in Pakistan and their future and the present condition

By

Professor Miss Shafiqa

Breath-taking controversy of the day seems to be the democratic characteristics of Islamic state. Overpowering tide of democratic thoughts and the Western serfdom have damped the spirit of even zealous Muslims. No doubt, Islam and Islamic institutions have suffered from a period of oppression, catastrophic terror and chaos to an extent of complete eclipse. The zeal and ardent fervour for the profound Islamic urge substituted by despondency and shattered hopes.

Again and again the question is posed whether Islamic state is based on democratic principle or not? We regret the dismal fact that even the most educated Muslims are the victims of such an array of doubts that Islam and Islamic institutions have become the targets of a volley of disastrous criticisms.

The questions generally posed are :—

1. Is the Islamic legal pattern still practicable?
2. How far Islamic pattern is democratic?
3. How the general will can be perpetuated?
4. How far the freedom of action and thought is granted to the individual?
5. How far the fundamental rights are safe-guarded?
6. What is the position of minorities in a Islamic State?

These questions and the like are no doubt the ultimate outcome of despondency and sheer ignorance.

Another cause of this misgiving may be the Western serfdom and long borne servitude. State and political powers are supposed to be the best instruments for the preservation of religious,

linguistic and cultural traditions when the Muslim majority was deprived of this protection, its sources of rationalization and understanding also ceased to function and it could not give colour and shape to its own sentiments. The surging enthusiasm of Muslims in the middle of the present century in India was the result of a long suppressed volcano which erupted and turned into a prairie fire. Longing for an Islamic State was responded with a passion beyond comprehension. The ideal promised was soon put into practice in the shape of Pakistan in 1947. Now people with elated enthusiasm proceeded to implement the ideal in the political arena. It was the commencement of glorious adventure. It was an embodiment of an ideal rather than the accomplishment of it. Unfortunately the brief interval which proved the failure of Islamic pattern in Pakistan has revived the former apprehension with that some force and cast a thick mist of suspicions and misgivings on the immature minds who are unfortunately shorn of Islamic conceptions.

The only remedy to uproot the long established despondency and to escape from this volley of criticism is to analyse the Islamic State and its features. Maulana Maudoodi has rendered judicious service to Islam by extracting and analysing the Quranic verses related to the Islamic State and its function. His method is impressive and systematic.

Most of the doubts, perplexities and confusions are eradicated by a slight movement of his pen. He renders no lip service to Islam when he tears the curtain of hypocrisy which had overshadowed it since long. He discusses the fundamentals of Islam with a surprising understanding and confidence.

According to Quran and Sunnah the basic principle of an ideal Islamic State is the sovereignty of God. He is the Fountain and the Source of all authority. Men are His Viceregents on earth.

Rulers or the Caliphs are agents or instruments who execute the *will of GOD on earth*. Rulers must be pious, trustworthy and Godfearing, they must be well wishers and beloved of the people. Their duty is to render selfless service to humanity. They weild powers until people trust them and repose confidence in them.

Public opinion is in no way ignored, collective affairs are decided by mutual consultation. On the top of it, all the mode of it is not devised. It is left at the discretion of the people. The only condition prescribed is its being genuine unbiased and impartial.

Functions of the State are also very interesting. It has not only to maintain peace and harmony and to defend the country from foreign invasions but has also to perpetuate virtue and to purge the society by all material and moral, social and political evils.

Golden principle of *Zakat* is upheld to strengthen the financial conditions of the State. It helps in the proper circulation of money and saves the accumulation of wealth into the hands of a few.

Right to resistance is granted against the arbitrary actions of the Government. Whenever the ruler commits any crime or overlooks the teachings of Islam or the spirit of Quran and Sunna people became free from his subjugation.

Institute of justice enumerated with a full vigour. Need for justice in individual as well as collective affairs is stressed upon. Judges are warned against bias and partiality.

Conception of welfare State which is obtaining momentum day by day is also enunciated fully. We are amazed at the mention of fundamental rights and minority problems. Life of an individual is accepted as something sacred. Right to property, honour and to the freedom of conscience are safeguarded one

cannot be imprisoned without the due process of law. Minorities are not compelled to accept Islam. Religious and social freedom is granted to non religions communities as well.

Now who can deny the genuineness of these principles, soundness of their sense, and their intrinsic universal value. We are amazed at the dazzling beauty, glamour and brilliance of these golden principles ? Can we ever doubt their democratic spirit and their practicability? Are they in any sense backward and out of dates ? Cannot we apply them in our national affairs ? Are not universally accepted rules which extract admiration and applause even from the most modern and progressive schools of thoughts.

In view of general disillusion and never ceasing criticism, vast majority of credulous and ignorant Muslims is apprehensive that the future of Islamic State is not so very bright. General tendency is towards socialism.

It is really beyond my comprehension why people struggled for Pakistan ? Where has gone that glorious object for which hearth and home, life and property, peace and rest were put on the stake? Where is the vibrating spirit with which people demonstrated the efficacy of the Islamic Shariah, and aspired for the achievement of an ideal Islamic State? The problems are massive and apparently insurmountable but they will dissolve before our intense conviction, profound endeavour and unbending resolution. If success is far off the horizon is not completely bleak. To give up the ideal because of these obstacles will be a tragedy — a contradiction of our own reactions.

This timely failure as a mist of despondency which has engulfed the whole atmosphere cannot extinguish the spark of elated aspiration and surging resonant enthusiasm which are still shining with brilliance and glamour, the matter is still crucial and compelling.

'Proposed Integration of Sind with the Punjab (1854-1876)

By

Z. H. Zaidi, Lahore.

"The Punjab and Sind appear from their relative geographical position to constitute naturally the frontier province of the Empire on its western side. Their common share in the great river which traverses the whole length of each seems to make them largely dependent on each other and to point out their union under one authority as the natural administrative disposition of our Western province." Thus wrote Lord Dalhousi in his Minutes[1] dated the 20th February 1856, advocating the integration of Sind with the Punjab and suggested that the Governor-General in Council was overburdened with work and needed relief. This according to him could be done by making the Punjab a Lieutenant Governorship. In case the Punjab was thought to constitute too small a unit of jurisdiction for a Lieutenant Governor, Sind on account of its geographical, political and administrative reasons could be integrated with it.

Sind was conquered and annexed by the British in 1843 and the Punjab became a British territory in 1849. The union of Sind with the Bombay Presidency was accidental. The Control of Sind from the Bengal Presidency would have been very difficult and Bombay was the only place from where Sind could be governed. It was for this reason that Sind was made a part of Bombay.

Once the proposal for the amalgamation of Sind was made, the advocates and the critics of the proposal started discussing the pros and cone of the case.

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1 Lord Dalhousi's Minutes dt. Feb. 20, 1856 as reported by Aitchison, Confidential File, Punjab Records Office, Lahore.

Objections against the said proposal came from different quarters which based their arguments on the following grounds:—

1. The Punjab was not regarded as a reasonably big jurisdiction as compared to the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal and Agra.

2. The political, judicial and revenue administration had not been developed fully in the said provinces and it was premature to unite Sind with the Punjab.

3. Sind was admirably governed by Sir Bartle Frere, the then Governor of Bombay and there was no need to upset the existing system and make an experiment with no guarantee as to its benefits.

4. The means of communications were not developed and the administration of Sind from the seat of the Punjab Government would hamper the smooth running of the administrative machinery.

5. The Districts of Delhi Division comprising of Paneeput, Hissar, Delhi, Sirsa, Rhotuck and Goorgaon with (a tract of) 12,000 sq. miles of territory were a sufficient addition to the Punjab and the integration of Sind would make the control unmanageable and unwieldy.

6. There was no trouble on the Sind border, the tribes were peaceful and progress was satisfactory.

7. The Punjab and Sind were governed under different systems of administration.

8. The transfer of Sind from Bombay to the Punjab would considerably reduce the jurisdiction of the Bombay government and affect its revenue.

From the above arguments it is clear that the objections raised against the integration were mostly of a temporary nature. The first objection, that the Punjab was too small a charge, was

in reality connected with the question whether it would be made a Lieutenant Governorship, and once it was decided to make it a Lieutenant Governorship, the objection was removed.[1]

Objections number two and three could not be a permanent hindrance in the transfer of Sind to the Punjab. It was a matter of time and after the administration in Sind had been fully developed and tried, the experiment could have been worth making specially when Sir Bartle Frere himself favoured the amalgamation on certain condition.[2]

As regards the objection about the backwardness of the means of communication the Government of India's decision to undertake the Indus Valley Railway, silenced the critics of the amalgamation.[3]

If the addition of the Delhi Division made the jurisdiction of Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab too unwieldy, the territories could be given back to North Western Provinces.[4]

In connection with the 6th argument it may be pointed out that the border could remain peaceful under normal conditions but in case of a possible Afghan war of succession or a Russian advance towards Meshhud there was no guarantee of the peace being maintained on the border.[5]

It was not necessary to change the system of administration in Sind. Only its local government could be substituted for that of Bombay.[6]

The last objection would be removed by entrusting certain districts of the Central Provinces to the Government of Bombay.[7]

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1 Secy. of State's Despatch No. 7, dt. Nov. II, 1858.

2 Minutes by Sir B. Frere, dt. March 22, 1876.

3 Howell's note of 1869 as quoted by Aitchison in his note dt. 29-1-76.

4 Mr. Aitchison's note dt. 29-1-76, Confidential File No. 198, Punjab.

5 Secy. of State's Despatch, dt. Feb. 3, 1876, Confidential File No. 198, Punjab.

6 As for 4.

7 Secy. of State's Letter, dt. Feb. 1876, Confidential File No. 198, Punjab.

From 1856 onwards the proposal of the union of Sind with the Punjab was under the serious consideration of the Government of India as well as of the Home Government. Sir John Peter (member of the Council) wrote that "all physical and political considerations combine to indicate that Sind and Punjab should be united". He based his arguments on the following reasons :—

(a) The Indian continent had three natural boundaries ; mountainous tract, jungles and deserts. Between Bombay and Sind there was a large tract of desert which made the approach from the one to the other difficult and hazardous.

(b) "Sind was the door of the Punjab. It was tied to the Punjab by the strongest of all natural links, a single system of great navigable rivers, common to both."

(c) Sind and the Punjab constituted the North West Frontier of India. Efficient administration along the Frontier could only be achieved through 'unity of purpose' and 'common policy' in regard to the political affairs of the Frontier which should be in the hands of one authority.

The Court of Directors did not accept Lord Dalhousie's proposal for the integration on financial and other grounds.[1] The plan was, however, shelved for some time. The incoming political events of 1857 were too serious a problem to spare any time to revive the proposed integration. After the British Government breathed a sigh of relief in successfully dealing with the movement of 1857, the Secretary of State, of his own, directed that the Punjab should be made Lieutenant Governorship with the possibility of certain districts of North Western Provinces added to the new province. Sind[2] was however not to be incorporated with the Punjab.

Lord Canning hailed the decision of the Secretary of State not to integrate Sind with the Punjab specially on account of the backward state of communications. Lord Lawrence and Sir

1 Despatch No. 39, dt. October 8, 1856.
2 Secy. of State's Despatch No. 7, dt. Nov. II, 1858.

William Mansfield were also opposed to the union. In 1867, Sir Henry Durand strongly advocated the integration proposal. He observed that "it was anomalous that on no important a frontier, we should be liable to have a different policy advocated in Sind from that pursued at Peshawar, still more anomalous that the military force on the Lower Indus should be under the Commander-in-Chief at Bombay whilst the troops of the Upper Indus and its affluents are under the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal. One Government, one policy, one command should watch over the frontier from the sea board to Peshawar." Dual policy was pursued towards the frontier tribes, one exercised by the Bombay government and the other by the Punjab. The differences between the Sind and the Punjab system of dealing with the frontier tribes, as noted by Sir Frere, the then Governor of Bombay, are given below :—

Sind's System.

1. In Sind the Khan of Khalat's sovereignty over the Baluch tribes was upheld. In internal affairs he was free.

2. In Sind all military and civil authority was concentrated in the hands of the Frontier Commandant and Political Superintendent.

3. The principle in regard to the policy towards the frontier tribes in Sind was to be "actively good neighbours to them, to do as we would be done by".

4. In Sind the troops were used for the protection of life and property of all peaceable people.

5. While dealing with an enemy on the Sind frontier punishment was awarded only to the evildoer and not to his tribe or family.

6. In Sind tribal custom or local tradition was not regarded as excuse for the violation of British Law.

7. The carrying of arms by people was not generally permitted in Sind.

8. Every aid was given to the Khan of Khalat's officers to seek redress for injuries inflicted on them by the people under the Government of Sind.

9. Perfect security of life and property was maintained on the Sind border. Travellers were secure and the trade routes were open.

Punjab's System.

1. "Divide et impera" was the Punjab policy. The recognition of any authority over frontier tribes was to be avoided.

2. In the Punjab civil and military power was divided.

3. The policy of the Punjab government towards the frontier tribes was 'budi for budi' (evil for evil). It was a policy of absolute "non-interference" and "masterly inactivity".

4. In Punjab the troops could only be used for a regular expedition.

5. While dealing with an enemy the object of the Punjab government was "to strike terror into the enemy" by destroying houses, trees and crops and by punishing the tribe.

6. In Punjab much allowance was given for the tribal custom. Fighting for avenging murder, blood-feud was winked at by the authorities.

7. In Punjab the carrying of arms was generally allowed.

8. In the Punjab the authorities beyond the border made no surrender of the malefactors nor did the government.

9. The condition of the border was that of "neither peace nor war". No traveller had been able to pass the border for the last 25 years unprotected by armed force.

The lack of cohesion and unity of administration in the policy pursued towards the frontier contributed to the inefficiency of the government according to Durand's opinion who pointed out that taking Kushmore as the boundary between Sind and the Punjab, it would be easy to note that there was a great difference in the policy pursued North and South of Kushmore. In Sind the population was conquered and disarmed and yet the costly Frontier Force was maintained whereas the frontier from Kushmore to Peshawar with unarmed people was looked after by local militia, with few military posts. Therefore, it was necessary that "the whole Indus frontier, from Kurrachee to Peshawar should be under the Punjab government, not with the view of altering the system of Sind administration......but with the purpose of securing, in all main features, one consistent policy along that important frontier".

Mr. C.U. Aitchison, the then officiating Foreign Secretary, while favouring the integration plan pointed out that the transfer of Sind to the Punjab did not necessarily entail a change in the administration of Sind. The amalgamation was considered to be beneficial because the frontier of Sind was conterminous with the boundary lines of Upper India. Even from the point of view of communications it was not a healthy scheme to keep Sind with Bombay as even from Ahmadabad (the nearest point between Sind and Bombay), Sind was separated by about 150 miles. Bombay was connected with Kurrachee through a steamer service which was slow and dangerous. Moreover the decision of

the Government of India to take the control of political affairs altogether out of the hands of the Commissioner of Sind "in order to secure a unity of political action in its western frontier" was considered by Mr. Aitchison to support the transfer of Sind. He pointed out that the upper Frontier district in Sind was inhabited by Beloochies and Jats and so was Dera Ghazi Khan (a district of Punjab). In view of the customs and traditions of the said tribes, uniformity of policy in regard to their affairs was most necessary, as the system of double government leaving the control of political affairs under one administration and the control of internal government under another was likely to prove disastrous.

The following data will be of interest in connection with the integration plan :-

	Area sq. miles.	Population.	Grass Revenue.	Total Expenditure.
Lt. Governorship of Bengal...	189,034	62,724,840	*14,77,46,000	*5,59,38,000
Lt. Governorship of N.W. provinces...	81,403	30,769,056	*5,59,56,000	*1,92,92,000
Lt. Governorship of Punjab...	104,975	17,604,505	*3,64,61,000	*1,60,89.000
Sind...	57,145	1,772,367	62,21,839	
Districts transferred from N.W. Provinces to Punjab in 1858.				
Delhi	1,277	608,850	44,64,756	
Gurgaon	1,980	689,653	11,97,493	
Kurnal	2,352	610,927	7,81,651	
Hissar	3,540	484,681	24,09,041	

* These are the estimates of 1874-75

Rhotack	1,811	536,959	9,87,861
Sirsa	3,121	210,792	2,22,778
	14,081	3,141,865	1,00,63,580

The comparative study of the area, population and revenue of the territories given above would bear out that though the area of the Punjab was large, its population and revenue were small. The integration of Sind with the Punjab could in no way make the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab too large as even after the integration, the population of Sind and the Punjab would only be 1/3 of that of Bengal and 2/3 of that of the North Western Provinces with its revenue less than the revenue of the latter. The construction of railways and the marked improvement in the means of communications was bound to add to the efficiency of administration. Even if the area was regarded as too unwieldy, the districts of Delhi Division could have been transferred back to North West Provinces. In consideration of the above arguments Mr. Aitchison hoped that the integration would bring about a considerable financial saving by reducing the salary of the Commissioner of Sind and also by cutting down the forces kept on the Sind Frontier.

By the year 1876, the proposal for the amalgamation was more or less accepted in principle by the authorities. The Secretary of State while supporting the views of Mr. Aitchison wrote to the Governor General of India in 1876, that the then existing circumstances in the Punjab and Sind warranted the transfer of the latter to the former. After 1872, the Government of Bombay no longer dealt with the affairs of the tribes of Sind which were now under the Commissioner of Sind who looked after the foreign policy relating to Beloochistan and Trans-Indus tribes. The appointment, however, of certain officials working under the Commissioner of Sind, continued to be made by the Government of Bombay. The arrangement was unsatisfactory as it lacked unity of action. "Officers of different schools with divergent interests: working under the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab and the Commissioner of Sind exercised their jurisdic-

tion in regard to Frontier affairs and this often results in a clash of policy." It was on this account that the Secretary of State recommended that all the officers, civil and military, in the Valley of Indus, should obey a single will"[1] The reasons which decided the action of the Government in 1858 (not to amalgamate Sind with the Punjab), wrote the Secretary ot State, "have lost their cogency and so the whole territory may be annexed to the Punjab; or the lower portion of the Valley of Indus may be placed under a distinct government; or the districts requiring special military supervision may be separately administered; or some other division of these provinces involving larger readjustments, may be made. Local customs, facilities of communications, the character of the population under the British rule, and of the tribes beyond the frontier" were to be taken into consideration by the Government before any final decision in connection with the amalgamation was arrived at.

The improvement of communications, and the works in progress for the development of the port of Kurrachee thus making it "the emporium for all trade from Western Europe to Afghanistan, Sind, the Punjab, and a portion of the North West Provinces" favoured the amalgamation. Moreover, the Government of Bombay could not easily manage the new harbour.

As a result of the reduction of the jurisdiction of the Bombay, caused by the proposed integration, it was proposed by the Secretary of State that some of the "cotton and coal bearing districts of Central Provinces might be entrusted to" the Bombay Government as the port of Bombay was the "sole outlet for the rich production of the Central Provinces".

The inconvenience and embarrassment caused to the officers as a result of the proposed change was duly appreciated by the Secretary of State and therefore, he wished to be informed about the views of the Governor General on the subject.

In accordance with the directions of the Governor General, Mr. Thornten, the then Officiating Foreign Secretary in his note

[1] Secretary of State's letter dated February 3, 1876, confidential File No. 198, Punjab Records Office, Lahore.

dated 17th February, 1876, suggested that the union of the two provinces could be effected through the following means:—

1. The administration of Sind should be kept distinct from that of the Punjab and it should be under the Commissioner of Sind.

2. The Commissioner of Sind should be under the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, who should exercise the powers which were exercised by the Government of Bombay. The management of the affairs dealing with the Khan of Khelat and the frontier tribes should be under the direct control of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. The Sind Frontier Force and the Punjab Frontier Force should be amalgamated and placed under one command.

4. All laws and rules in force in Sind should remain till repealed by competent authority.

5. The territory on the northern border of Sind and the southwest border of the Punjab should be under one administrative head so that the political affairs of the Biluch and Barohi tribes should be managed properly.

6. Officers under the Government of Bombay should be made eligible for employment in the Punjab and the officers of the Punjab should be declared eligible for employment in Sind.

7. Option should be given to the officers serving under the Bombay Government to indicate their choice of service.

8. A Joint Secretary for Sind should be appointed "to enable the Lieutenant Governor of Sind to deal effectively with Sind.

The Foreign Secretary was not sure if the amalgamation would bring about a financial saving but the scheme was "an insurance against the evils of a dual discordant policy in the directions of our relation with Khelat and the frontier tribes."

The final decision in regard to the integration of Sind with the Punjab seems to have been deferred possibly on account of the discussions which started in connection with the proposal to form the Trans-Indus Districts of the Punjab and Sind into a separate Frontier Administration or because of the outbreak of hostilities between the British Government and the Amir of Kabul in the autumn of 1878, or on account of the dispute regarding compensating the Bombay Government for the loss of Sind. It is difficult to point out as to how these records about the integration came in the possession of the then Punjab Government. Most probably they had been sent to the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab for his opinion and comments.

However, the master plan of the integration of Sind with the Punjab could not emerge in practical shape, which would have otherwise taken the light of the day on grounds of geographical contiguity, ties of race and creed, much related economy and social and political identification. Little did the British know that the scheme which did not materialise at that time would be put into practical shape after about a hundred years in the form of One Unit comprising of Sind, Punjab, Belochistan and the Frontier.

Assessment and Collection of the land-tax (al-kharaj) in Early Medieval Persia

By

M. M. Hossain, Rajshahi.

The Land Tax :

The land-tax was not a new impost introduced by the Muslims in Persia. It was already prevalent there before Islam under the name of 'kharag'. Under Islam it was called 'kharāj' and was collected from the owners of the kharāji lands as for example:

(*a*) such lands conquered by force as were not divided among the Muslim soldiers but were left to the original owners.

(*b*) such lands about which the Caliph came to an agreement with their non-Muslim owners that the lands should be left to them provided they paid the land-tax as before,

(*c*) such waste lands developed for cultivation by dhimmis with the state permission,

(*d*) such waste lands developed for cultivation by Muslims provided they had been irrigated with tha kharāji water,

(*e*) such habitations of dhimmis converted into gardens and also habitations of Muslims converted into gardens, if they were irrigated with the kharāji water.[1]

The Muslims were not allowed to possess the Kharāji land in the conquered territories. [2] But in the case where the owner

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1 Aghnides, N. P.: Mohammadan Theories of Finance, New York, London 1916, pp. 362-'72.

2 Muslims were forbidden to occupy land in the conquered territories by the regulation of the special Shūra convened for the purpose by 'Umar I in 16 A. H.

of a kharāji land became Muslim he was to surrender his land to the state and to have state pension in return and in the case where a Muslim liked to retain his kharāji land even after his conversion, he was to pay the land-tax as before.[1] "The right of the convert to emigrate from kharaj land to escape his taxes is specifically acknowledged by the jurists but the right of exemption from land-tax if he stays on his land is also specifically denied."[2] In course of time and particularly, during the Umayyad period the Persian Muslims as well as the Arab Muslims who came into possession of the kharāji lands in Persia began to pay 'ushr instead of kharāj due from them. The rate of 'ushr being lower than that of kharāj, the state treasury suffered severely. Hajjaj bin Yūsuf is, however, reported to have forced the Muslims with the kharaji lands to pay the former land-tax and there was a great hue and cry. 'Umar II tried to solve the land-regulation systems in a different way by publicly declaring "that the kharaji-land was first of all the joint possession of the communities concerned, to whom the Muslims had handed it over for usufruct on payment of tribute, so that therefore portion of it must not be taken from the whole to become, by passing into Muslim ownership, tax-free private estates."[3] He prohibited selling of kharaji land to the Arabs from 718-'19 A. D. and upheld the principles regarding the kharaji land evolved during the early days of Islam. But 'Umar II failed to establish the inalienability kharāji land. In Khurāsān Naṣr bin Sayyār, the great governor of Marwan II, remodelled the fiscal system and collected land-tax from all the landed proprietors, Arab and Persian in proportion to their property.[4]

The Share of the State:—

In Pre-Islamic Persia and especially, till the reign of Qubād, a Sāsānian monarch, it was the prevailing custom that the state

1 Abū Yūsuf: kitabu'l-kharaj, Bulaq, A. H. 1302, p. 43.

2 Dennett, D. C.: Coversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam, Cambridge, 1950, p. 40.

3 Wellhausen J: The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall, (Cal., 1927), pp. 280-'81.

4 Wellhunsen, op. cit. p 477-'81.

received annually from the farmer a certain portion of his produce, fixed by the government agent and this levy seems to have varied from one-third to one-sixth of the yield, due regard being paid to the water facilities and the quality of soil as well.[1] This method of taxation made the position of the cultivator unsafe. He had to look with uncertainty to the tax-collector who might exact, at his caprice, a greater amount for the State. The peasant had, therefore, no interest in the land he tilled nor had he any desire to improve the cultivation as he was not sure of reaping the harvest according to his labour. Besides, "the method involved much wastage since the crop could not be reaped or fruit collected until the tax-collector was ready to take the share falling due to the State."[2] It reported that Qubād envisaged, for the first time, the idea of assessing fixed land-tax based on the measurement of land instead of on the produce but before he could enforce his plan he died.[3] However, his son and successor, Anushirwān succeeded in establishing a new basis for assessment of land-revenue from all the arable lands. By this he arranged to make an annual survey of the land under cultivation and divided it into unit areas, the unit being the jarib (=an area equal to 3600 sq. yards).[4] Thus a jarib was taxed one dirham a year for wheat or barley, eight dirhams for vine, seven for trefoil which provided fodder for horses and other animals, five for rice, dates and olives being taxed by tree (the rate for date palms was one dirham per 4 trees).[5] Christensen believes that this reform in the system of assessing the land-tax was both a great relief to the farmer as well as a benefit to the treasury. At later times, under the Muslims, it formed the chief ground-work for the assessment of kharāj in Persia. 'Umar I retained in the country

1 Tabari: Annales, Arabic text, ed. de Goeje. Leyden, 1879-1901, Vol. I, p. 960.

2 Sykes, P.: A History of Persia, 3rd ed. Lond. 1930, Vol. I, p. 462.

3 Lambton, K. S.: Landlord and Peasant in Persia, Lond. 1953, p. 15, *foot note*.

4 Dennett, op. cit. pp. 14-15.

5 Fārs-nāma, ed. G. Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, Cambridge, 1921, p. 93.

the former Sāsānian system, as far as possible, allowing the landowners to enjoy all their previous proprietary rights. The case of the Sawād is often cited by the Muslim jurists as a model for fixing the rates of land-tax in Persia, although they differ as to the actual rates of taxation to which it was subjected by the Caliph 'Umar I. The Caliph had the Sawād surveyed and found it to have 36,000,000, jarib. Upon every jarib a tax of one dirham in coin and one qafiz [1] 'in nature' was levied. The other account points out the following tax-table :—

For every jarib of date plantation,	10	dirhams.
„ „ „ „ vineyard ,	10	„
„ „ „ „ sugarcane,	6	„
„ „ „ „ wheat ,	4	„
„ „ „ „ barley ,	2	„ ... (2)

Another report mentions that from every jarib of dates 10 dirhams were collected and from that of vine 8 dirhams were collected but another source points out that every jarīb of dates with natural water paid 10 dirhams and watered with bucket paid 5 dirhams and vine 10 dirhams. [3] According to another report vine 10 dirhams, sesam 5 dirhams and from vegetables (summer crop only) and cotton 3 dirhams and 5 dirhams were respectively collected. [4] Palms were taxed on the basis of feet as under the Sāsānians, and according to another report, palms were exempt from tax. However, this last report applied to isolated palm trees found in cultivated fields which were exempt from tax already under the Sāsānians. [5] If the land could not stand the rate of kharāj imposed on it, it might be reduced to what it could stand. According to some jurists the Kharāj might in case fall short of one-fifth of the entire produce, and it might not exceed to one-half of it. Umar I is reported to have told his agents, Uthman and Hudhay-

1 a qafiz is variously fixed but usually at $5\frac{1}{3}$ ritt.
2 Abu Yūsuf, op. cit. p. 20.
3 Abū Yūsuf, op. cit. p. 21
4 *Ibid*, p. 22
5 Aghnides, op. cit. p. 379 (footnote).

fah who had assessed the Kharāj of the Sawad: "Perhaps you have assessed the land with a rate which it cannot stand?" and they replied, "No, on the contrary, we have assessed it with rate which it can stand, but if we had assessed a higher rate the land could still stand it"[1] Umar I, although informed that the land could stand more, did not order an increase of rate. In the case where the kharāj was assessed in kind the tax-bearing capacity[2] of the land was duly considered and generally the state demand fluctuated from 1/2 to 1/5 of the produce.

The system by which kharāj was assessed on the area of land held and levied in cash or in kind appears to have continued until the reign of Manṣūr. By that time it seems that due to changes in price level, the tax-payers had difficulty in raising the money to pay the tax. Hence, a modification was made in the method of assessment and the tax was generally reckoned on the actual produce. The rates imposed were likely to have been half the produce on an unirrigated land, one-third on land irrigated by dālīeh and one-fourth on land irrigated by dūlāb (also a type of water wheel).[3] "This system of taxation was called productive rate system (maqāsameh) in contradistinction to the older system based upon measurement (muhāsabeh)".[4] Upon less important cultivations and for date palms and fruit trees the old system of levying the tax in money was continued.[5] The Caliph could, however, increase or decrease the rāte of assessment of the Kharāj collected from a particular taxable district.[6] Ma'mūn, reduced the taxes of Rayy, including the kharāj by 2,000,000 dirhams,[7] and raised that of Qūmis from 2,000,000 to 7,000,000 dirhams.[8]

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1 Aghnides, op. cit. p. 380.

2 Three factors determined the tax-bearing capacity of the land: (a) the quality of the land, (b) the kind of crop, and (c) the method of irrigation The irrigation of crops and trees may be affected in four ways: (p) artificial irrigation without the use of any instruments; (q) artificial irrigation with some instruments; (r) natural irrigation by means of rain, or snow or dew; (s) irrigation by means of the humidity of soil or by water concealed underground. (Aghnides, pp 381-'82).

3 Lambton, K.S.: Landlord and Peasant in Persia, Lond. 1953, p. 33.

4 Ameer Ali, A Short History of the Saracens, Lond. 1951, p. 427.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Abu Yusuf, op. cit., p. 129.

7 Tabart III, p. 1030.

8 *Ibid*, p. 1092.

Thus under the early 'Abbāsids we see that the kharāj was assessed in three ways :—

(a) By measurement (muhāsabeh) *i.e.* the amount due being calculated on the cultivated area alone.

(b) By crop-division system (muqāsameh) *i.e.* state taking its own share of the yield, according to the principle agreed upon.

(c) By fixing a lump sum neither based on measurement nor on the actual produce. [1]

We do not have any data as to the state share of Kharāj under the Ṭāhirids in Persia. Ṭāhirids who had been characterised as enlightened despots in the history of East did not perhaps exact heavy tax from their subjects. It is reported that 'Abd Allah bin Ṭāhir looked into the interest of the peasantry and instructed his officials to be just to them saying, "God feeds us by their hands, welcomes us through their mouths and forbids their ill-treatment".[2] Besides we know from Yáqūbi [3] that he ruled Khurāsān as none had ruled it before. Thus it is probable that the Ṭahirids and more particularly, 'Abd Allah bin Ṭahir assessed Kharāj very leniently. If the Ṭahirids could not reduce the rate of the Kharāj, we can safely assume that they allowed to continue Ma'mūn's previous method of assessment in Persia. In contrast to the Ṭāhirids, the Ṣaffārids who were insatiable by nature did not follow any hard and fast rule as to the mode of assessing the land-tax. As they were always engaged in wars they needed money and, therefore, the rate of the Kharāj collected from their subjects might have been higher. [4] It is said of Ya'qūb bin Layth Ṣaffār that he extorted money wherever and whenever the opportunity presented itself, in preference to waiting for regular assessment of revenue. [5] He once exacted two years' kharāj from Rūyān and "the

1 Al-Mawardi : "Al-Ahkamu's Sultaniyah, Egypt. A.H. 1298 pp. 143-44.
2 Barthold, W.: Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, London 1928, p.213.
3 Ya'qūbi ; Historical, ed. M.T. Houtsma, Leyden, 1883, Vol. II, p. 586.
4 Noldeke, T : Sketches from Eastern History., Tr. J.S. Black, London, 1894, p. 183.
5 Gardizi : Zainul Akhbar, ed. by Nazim, p. 8.

people as a result had nothing to eat." [1] Under the Sāmānids the land-tax was assessed in one of the three methods described by Māwardi.[2] In almost all parts of the province of Fārs the Kharāj was assessed on the basis of the area under cultivation though the rates varied according to the different systems of irrigation and the crop cultivated. "One great jarib[3] irrigated by a natural stream and sown with wheat or barley paid 190 dirhams; with fruit trees it paid 192 dirhams; with dates or cucumbers 237 dirhams; with cotton 256 dirhams 4 dangs and vine, 1,425 dirhams. These were the rates in the neighbourhood of Shīrāz, the capital of Fārs."[4] In other districts the rates were generally lowered by a third. Thus the Kharāj of Kuvar, for example, was two-thirds the rate of Shīrāz.[5] "On land which depended on rain the tax was one-third of that levied on land watered by natural stream, while crops of melons, cucumbers and green vegetables irrigated from a well paid two-thirds of the later rate. Land through which a river or other natural streams flowed paid an additional one-fourth of the tax which went as prerequisite to the ruler".[6] In case of Kurdish pastrol tribes in Fars which held documents from 'Umar I, 'Ali, and other Caliphs the rate of land-tax was one-tenth, one-third, or one-fourth of the produce as written in them.[7] Crown lands were assessed either by crop-division system (muqāsameh) or by contract (muqātaeh). The assessment in either case was paid in cash.[8] Vineyards and plantation were apparently exempt from land-tax in Fārs until 'Ali bin Isā imposed kharāj on them in all districts of the province in 914-'15 A. D.[9] In Dārābjird Arjān and Sābūr various kinds of rates were prevalent in accordance with the fertility of the soil.[10] And moreover,

1 Lambton, op. cit, pp. 47-'8 (footnote).
2 Mawardi, op. cit., pp. 142-'44.
3 One great jarib—3⅗ ordinary jaribs.
4 Levy, R.: The Social Structure of Islam, Cambridge, 1957, pp. 383-'84.
5 Istakhri, Kitab Masalik al-Mamalik, ed Goeje, Brill, Lyden 1927. p. 157.
6 Levy, R, op. cit., p. 384.
7 Lambton, p. 34.
8 Istakhri, p. 158.
9 Lambton, p, 34.
10 Istakhri, pp. 157-'58.

where peculiar physical features existed in one taxable district, as was the case in Qumm, a number of tax-tables were prepared to meet local needs and customs.[1] The broad general principles of assessment of the kharāj from the 7th to 10th centuries A. D. were as outlined above, but there were many local variations and in many respects, the tax-system resembled in general the former Sāsānian practice. No doubt, under the Muslim administration, certain factors affecting the levy of the tax, such as mode of conquest, geographical situation, manner of irrigation, nature of land tenure, type of cultivation etc. were taken into consideration but in fact local customs and traditions were in all probability the decisive factors.

Under the Sāsānian rulers the land-tax in Persia was mostly paid at three instalments covering the whole year.[2] The Muslims allowed this system of payment to continue though, however, the number of instalments varied from time to time. Payment of the tax was normally made in dirhams and in cases where it was paid in kind the state demand of the produce was collected on the threshing floor, according to the stipulated term agreed upon.[3] We generally come across the following methods of collecting the land-tax in Persia; (*a*) *Muqāta'h*: The land-tax was collected in some rural areas according to a fixed settlement based on leases or agreements between the government and the subjects. In most cases these agreements were made at the time of the conquest.[4] (*b*) *Takmīlah*: Collecting the land-tax in lump sums termed as Takmilah was a survival of the Sāsānian system. Each village had to pay a definite amount to the government without reference to the actual yield in the village. Of course, this amount was fixed on the basis of the land-tax paid during the previous year. Still it caused hardship to the villagers because the amount due from them was not in accordance with the yield and, therefore, in lean years the peasants had to sell

1 Lambton, p. 34.
2 Sykes op. cit., Vol. I, p. 462.
3 Lambton pp. 41-'42.
4 Ameer Ali, pp. 27-'8.

any part of their holdings while paying the tax. It is reported that 'Ubaydullāh, the wazīr of Mahdi, suggested to the Caliph that his income would be increased if, instead of takmilah systems, he introduced the system of sharing the produce of the land.[1] Muqtadir discontinued this practice.[2] (*c*) *Taqbīl*: Collection of taxes was in the hands of contractors (sing, Muqabbil) in return for a fixed sum of money. This system had led to unauthorised exactions from the peasants by the contractors. This buying and selling of tax farms is severely condemned by Abū Yūsuf. He permits Taqbīl system, if the people of a village propose that some trustworthy men from among them should be allowed to collect and pay the taxes into the treasury on behalf of all of them.[3] Under Muqtadir we have a report concerning the farming of the Sawād, Ahwāz and Iṣfahān) under Hamid bin 'Abbās.[4] When this contract led to the oppression of the peasantry with consequent increase of the price of bare necessities of life, the said farming was cancelled. 'Ali bin Isā, the wazīr of the Caliph Muqtadir, then engaged his own agents to collect revenues from those places to relieve the distress of the people.[5]

Jahshiyari writes that the kharaj-payers were mostly ill-treated by the revenue collectors who sometimes exposed them to wild animals, bees, polecats and Mahdi put a stop to these cruelties.[6] Abu Yusuf states that the tax-payers were made to wait at the door of the tax-collectors for days together, that they were made to stand in the sun and that often the tax-collectors beat them severely.[7] The Caliph who had great solicitude for his subjects always recommended that these unjust and cruel practices should be suppressed and suggested that there should

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1 Ibn at-Tiqtaqa; Al-Fakhri, Tr. by C. E. J. Whitting, pp. 215-'16.

2 Al-Maqrizi; Khitatu Misr. Bulaq A. H. 1270. Vol. I, p. 273.

3 Abu Yusuf, op. cit., p. 60.

4 Miskawayhi; The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate, ed, and Tr H. E. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliuth, Oxford, 1920-'1. Vol. IV, pp. 82-'3.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Al-Jahshiyari, Kitabu'l-Wuzara'i wa'l Kuttab, Cairo, p. 163.

7 Abu Yusuf p. 70.

be an espionage system to watch and report these atrocities as the kharaj- payers themselves could not made any reports. Following is an extract of the address given by Muqtadir's great wazīr, 'Ali bin Isā to the new governors: "That you should not be more anxious to earn merit in such matters than to deal justly and equitably with your subjects and to remove from them unfair burdens small or great. For I shall hold you answerable for the honest administration of the Sultan's revenues and the proper guarding of his property................You shall reduce the assessment in accordance with the result of the investigations; you shall then proceed to exact the land-tax (kharāj) without favour to the strong or injustice to the weak"[1] Over-taxation, extortion and insecurity were undoubtedly the general rule. There were, of course, exceptions to these. Sometimes independent rulers[2] in Persia were reported to have looked to the interest of their subjects and thus added to peace and prosperity of the territories under them.

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1 The eclipse IV, pp. 30-' 1

2 See supra, p. 7.

Was Shahjahan justified in ordering the annexation of Bijapur to the Mughal Empire and why did the campaign fail?

By

Dr. Yar Muhammad Khan, Hyderabad.

The geographical position of Bijapur with Akbar's preoccupations in the north and Jahangirs' inefficiency gave a chance to Adil Shah to continue his hostilities against the Mughals. It was Shahjahan who reduced Bijapur to a tributary state of the Mughals. But he could take an active initiative against the Adil Shahis only after the submission of Fateh Khan in 1633, when Ahmadnagar was in its last phase.

The treaty of 1636, concluded between Adil Shah and the Mughals is a landmark in the history of Bijapur. It reduced to a vassal state of the Mughals. As the contents of the treaty have been misinterpreted by some modern writers therefore they shall be discussed minutely in order to clarify the position of Adil Shah after the treaty. They were :—

1. Adil Shah would be obedient in future to the Mughal emperor, whom he would acknowledge as his overlord.

2. The Nizam Shahi kingdom henceforth would cease to exist and its territory would be divided between the Mughals and the Bijapuris.

3. A *peshkesh* of twenty lakhs of rupees would be sent by Adil Shah.

4. Adil Shah shall retain the old Bijapur territory plus some forts of the Nizam Shahis (Sholapur, Parinda, Chakan, etc).

5. Adil Shah would neither molest the Golconda territory nor demand any money from Qutb Shah. Any dispute arising between Golconda and Bijapur would be referred to the Mughal emperor, whose decision would be final.

The inferior position of Adil Shah is further illustrated by a letter of Shahjahan to Adil Shah after the treaty. Shahjahan wrote :—

"It is manifest from your appeal that you have promised to be obedient and send *peshkesh* in future. I therefore have pardoned your faults and confirm the territory of the late Adil Shah on you . . . . ."

The treaty of 1636, turned Adil Shah into a vassal of the Mughal emperor. In the light of the terms, it is hard to agree with the statement of Qanungo and Sarkar that even after the treaty of 1636, Adil Shah was an independent king. In the words of Sarkar, "The treaty of 1636, turned the king of Bijapur into a friendly ally of the emperor of Delhi but left the sovereignty impaired. He had not become a vassal prince or bound himself to pay an annual tribute." A critical examination of the facts would show that Adil Shah was a vassal of the Mughals and not an independent king.

Adil Shah's acknowledgement of Shahjahan as his overlord and his promise to remain submissive to the emperor hardly leaves any doubt to the fact that Bijapur was a vassal state. The question of tribute needs a critical discussion. The item of 20 lakhs of rupees to be paid by Adil Shah has been translated by both Sarkar and Saksena as "Peace-offering".

The difficulty with the term *peshkesh* is that it was used by the chroniclers very loosely. For example, princes or nobles

when presented gifts to Shahjahan, have also been denoted as presenting *peshkesh* to the emperor. But a study of other contexts will show that the term *peshkesh* has been taken as tribute and not as 'Peace offering', specially when the rulers of the subordinate states submitted it to the emperor. For example, recommending for the remission of arrears of tribute by zamindar of Deogarh, Aurangzeb wrote to Shahjahan, "As your Majesty have remitted the arrears of zamindar of Chanda, the arrears of the Zamindar of Deogarh may also be remitted. The said zamindar has promised to deposit the fixed amount of *peshkesh* every year to the imperial treasury.[1] In 1655, Aurangzeb requested his father not to annex petty state of Chanda as its zamindar had promised to clear the arrears of the annual *peshkesh* and to pay the annual *peshkesh* regularly in future.[2]

The chronicles do not mention any definite amount of *peshkesh* laid down on Adil Shah to pay annually. But few examples would show that Adil Shah was an annual tributary.

(i) On 9th Shaban 1049/6th Jan. 1640, Iwaz Khan, the Bijapur envoy brought a *peshkesh* consisted of pearls and ornamented goods worth Rs. 20 lakhs.

(ii) In 1643, Sayyid Hassan brought *peshkesh* from Bijapur.[3]

(iii) In 1650, Md. Sufi, the imperial envoy brought forty elephants and other gifts as *peshkesh* worth Rs. 40 lakhs.[4]

It should be borne in mind that the letter sent to Adil Shah in 1635, demanded a regular *peshkesh*. I wonder how Sarkar and Saksena have translated the term *peshkesh* as 'peace offering' in the case of Adil Shah and tribute in the case of Qutab Shah,

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1 & 2 Adab, pp. 42a, 60a.

3 Lahauri I, p. 352.

4 Padshah Nawab (Waris), p. 444.

when the same word has been used in the chronicles in both the cases. Moreover if it was a mere 'peace offering' why did Adil Shah sent the so called peace-offering, even after 1636, while there was no war between Bijapur and Delhi till 1657. If Adil Shah was not a vassal king and was an independent and equal ally, why then did Shahjahan not send any *peshkesh* to him even once ? I do not also agree with Faruki, when he concludes that Adil Shah paid an annual tribute of Rs. 20 lakhs; when chronicles don't speak of any definite amount. Thus it could be concluded that Bijapur was a tributary state of the Mughals.

The question of succession of Ali Adil Shah in Nov. 1656, was not the only cause of the Mughal invasion as has been generally understood. First, the *peshkesh* from Bijapur always fell in arrear.[1] Second, Adil Shah built new forts in Junair and at other places on Bijapur-Mughal border. But he had to demolish them by the order of the emperor.[2] Third, during the Mughal invasion of Golconda in 1656, Adil Shah stationed an a my of 20, 000 men near Bijapur border to help the Qutab Shahis. Fourth, Adil Shah seized some parts of Karnatak since it was given to Mir Jumla by the emperor. The last cause was the succession of Ali Adil Shah.

Muhammad Adil Shah died on 4th November, 1656 and was succeeded by Ali Adil Shah. Aurangzeb immediately reported the matter to his father saying "a boy of obscure parentage, Ali by name, has been enthroned" and urged his father to sanction war against Bijapur.

The Mughal sources challenge the legality of Ali's succession and charge that he was not the real son of Mohd. Adil Shah but an adopted one ; while the Bijapuris emphasise that Ali was the real son of Mohd. Adil Shah. Sarkar, Saksena and Elphinstone

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1 Once Aurangzeb reported to Jahan Ara that Adil Shah promised to pay Rs. 9 lakhs as *peshkesh* but he sent only Rs. 4 lakhs when the imperial envoy went to fetch it. (Adab 223 b).

2 Adab, p. 186b.

agree with the view of the Bijapuris. Apart from the court chronicles such as Amal-i-Salih, Padshah Namah by Waris, Adab-i-Alamgiri, Tawarikh-i-Shahjahani, (Md. Sadiq) even a Deccani chronicle *i.e.* Hadiqat-i-Alam and the European travellers like Thevenot and Tevernier are of the opinion that Ali was not the real son but an adopted one. It was not after the death of Mohd. Adil Shah that the question of his succession arose in the Mughal circle as Aurangzeb had already told the situation both to his father and Mir Jumla.[1]

There are only three Deccani chronicles which support Ali's succession. Tarikh-i-Ali Adil Shah (Written in 1666 by the order of Ali, whose succession was in question.) *Basatin-us-Salatin* (written in 1821, using Tarikh-i-Ali Adil Shah as one of its sources) and *Tarikh-Bijapur* was completed in 1824. Thus all these chronicles are biased and were written to serve the cause of the Bijapuris.

All the three Deccan chronicles mention that after his birth, Ali was given to the care of Haji Bari Sahiba, the queen of Mohd. Adil Shah at her earnest requests and that the baby was brought up under her guardianship. But none of these record the name of his real mother. This fact casts further doubt upon the value of these chronicles. These were written after 1656, but still failed in mentioning the name of Ali's mother. When they could mention the name of his guardian, what could prevent them mentioning the name of his real mother, when they were determined to prove him the real son of Md. Adil Shah. Even if the child of a Muslim was born of a slave girl and was recognized by the father, he according to the jurists had the legal right of succession. For example, Mamun and al-Mu'tasim, the Abbaside rulers, sons of Harun al-Rashid were of slave girls. But there is no adoption in Islamic Law, whether Sunni or Shiah. Moreover, when Aurangzeb wrote to Qutab Shah that Md. Adil Shah had no son, Qutab Shah did not challenge to the prince's statement.

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[1] Dr Jahangir, pp. 51-52.

The history records the instances of Raja Man Singh and Bahadur Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, to prove that the Mughals being the paramount power had the right to control the succession of their subordinate states. Thus Shahjahan had every right in ordering the annexation of Bijapur or to confirm its succession on any one whom he deemed fit.

Mir Jumla, whom Aurangzeb called 'babaji', protector and guardian, was no less responsible to bring war against Bijapur. The wazir was anxious to avenge against both Qutab Shah and Adil Shah, who had once planned to kill him. There are many letters of Aurangzeb recorded in the Adab, in which the prince urged the Mir to get sanction of war from the emperor. Mir Jumla responded the request of his ally. Convinced by Mir Jumla, Shahjahan permitted the campaign. (26th Nov. 1657.)

Why the Campaign failed

After the capture of Bidar and Kaliyani by the Mughals, Bijapur would have fallen into the hands of Aurangzeb, but the intrigues of Dara checked the imperial advance. Dara was opposed to the campaign from the beginning and had sent his envoy Mulla Shauqi to Bijapur to assure Adil Shah of his help.[1] Similarly Adil Shah also despatched Ibrahim Khan Bachattar to Dara to influence the emperor.[2] In the absence of Mir Jumla from the imperial court, Dara succeeded in influencing the emperor, who ordered Aurangzeb to stop the war (Aug). The statement of Alamgirnamah that Dara wrote to Adil Shah secretly not to fulfil terms of the treaty is probably true because Dara wanted to weaken Aurangzeb by any means he could. And we find that despite some concession given by Aurangzeb to the Bijapuris in the fulfilment of the treaty, Adil Shah refused to surrender anything to Aurangzeb. Thus the failure of the campaign rested on the shoulders of Dara. The Deccanis fully utilized rivalry of the hostile groups at the imperial court and succeeded in keeping their dynasties alive a little longer.

1 Adab. p. 208a.
2 Amal-i-Salih III, pp. 262, 290-292, Wiqat-i-Alamgiri (by Aqil Khan Razi), pp. 36-41.

The rise of the Zaidi Dynasty in al-Yeman

By

Dr. Abdul Khaliq Kazi

Before I deal with the proper subject of my paper, I may be allowed a few words about the Zaidiyyah, Ismailiyyah and Ithna'oshariyah, for the great number of their adherents and also for the great part they have continually played in Muslim History, are well-known to Historians. But Zaidiyyah on the other hand are less known outside their close boundaries of al-Yeman.

The Shi'ites are mainly divided into three sects : *viz* : Zaidiyyah, Ismailiyah and Ithna'oshariyah. But belief in the confinement of Khilafat to the Al-i-Bait is almost all that Zaidiyyah share with the other two sects. The Shi'ites had actually parted with Zaid b. Ali, from whom Zaidiyah take their name, when he refused to share their extreme views.

Zaid b. Ali was a pupil of Wasil b. Ata the famous Mu'tazilite. From this teacher Zaid had learnt to be rational and moderate in his view. Most he would say about the early Caliphs was that they had less claim to the Caliphate than Ali. However, Zaid thought, when Abu Baker and Omar ruled they did so with justice and in accordance with Quran and Sunnah. But in his own time Zaid was sure that Umaiyyads were unjust Caliphs and therefore he felt called upon to lead the rebellion against them. Much against the advice of his friends and relatives who were aware of the catastrophe which had earlier overwhelmed his grandfather Hussain b. Ali, Zaid too, yielded to the persuasion of his Kufi adherents, and went to Kufa and led an armed rebellion against Hisham b. Abdul Malik. The Governor of Iraq Yusuf b. Omar Al-thaqafi, alerted as he was by the Caliph Hisham, was well prepared to face this rising. Although many thousands had sworn the oath of loyalty to Zaid only a few hundreds joined him at the time of the battle. Therefore the battle took the form of street fighting in which Zaid b. Ali was killed.

Although the second Alid rising was defeated without great difficulty, it served as the usherer of a long series of successive Zaidi movements culminating in the establishment of a Zaidi state first in the south of the Caspion Sea in the year 250 A.H. and then in al-Yeman in 284 A.H.

The Zaidi state on the Caspion Sea was founded by Al-Hasan b. Zaid in 250 A.H. This state continued till 520 A.H. and then it was not heard of any longer.

But in this paper I am concerned about the appearance of Zaidi state in al-Yeman.

The Shi-ites had realized the futility of attempting to set up an Imamat in Iraq which by then had become the seat of Caliphate. They consequently had to look somewhere else a ground for their activity—some place away from the seat of Caliphate and attracting the least attention of the Caliphs. In this they succeeded after over a century. Al-Qasim b. Ibrahim al-Rassi, the eleventh Imam in the official chain of Zaidi Imams had spent most of his life spreading "Daw' a" for Al-e-Bait. The Caliph Haroon al-Rashid had issued orders for the arrest of Zaidi claimants and "Da'is" where upon Al-Qasim went into hiding. He spent 10 years in hiding in Egypt sending his emissaries from there to all parts of the Muslim world. When the search for him became intensified in Egypt he fled back to Hijaz. It was perhaps about this time that Al-Qasim went to al-Yeman to look into the possibilities of establishing a Zaidi state there. Al-Qasim must have noticed that al-Yeman was not under the close watch of Baghdad. As evidence to this fact it should be pointed out here that events of this period in al-Yeman are missing in almost all the major historical works in Arabic. This shows to what extent al-Yeman was a neglected area in this period of the Abbasid Caliphate. Qarmatians were already making an inroad into it. The country was in a chaotic condition and thus a perfect ground for Zaidi "Daw'a". But the condition, perhaps, was not ripe enough for

establishment of a Zaidi state yet. This task was, .however, left for Al-Qasim's grandson Al-Hadi Ila 'l-Haq Yahya Ibn Al-Husain to accomplish some time later.

Al-Hadi was born in 245 A.H. Historical and geographical works are completely silent about the early life of Al-Hadi. This much can be gathered that he spent most of his time in Madina and Al-Rass, a town between Madina and Mecca, devoting himself to life of piety and learning for which he gained for himself quite a reputation. Zaidi biographies tell us that Al-Hadi received invitations from Chiefs of certain tribes in Al-Yeman urging him to come to them as Imam. Al-Hadi at last accepted their invitation and undertook the journey in 280 A.H. He went as far as Al-Sharafa, a town in the vicinity of San'a, and made it his camp. The people who were obedient at first soon began to desert him, and Al-Hadi finding himself without support went back to Medina. It appears to me that the reason for this unhappy situation was that people were used to freedom in their living and found Al-Hadi's control un-bearable. Al-Hadi was a pious man and he considered it his duty to up-hold the laws of Shari'a and reform the society accordingly. His over keenness brought about a cleavage between him and people which ultimately forced his retreat.

We are told in Al-Hadi's biographies that after his return to Medina the Yemanies faced devastating famines and ruinous tribal feuds which made them regret their earlier dis-obedience to Al-Hadi. They hastened to him with due apologies and asked him to come to al-Yeman.

Al-Hadi left again for Al-Yeman reaching Sa'da in the month of Safar 284 A.H., thus becoming the founder of the Zaidi state in Yeman. Al-Hadi did not retreat this time, but this does not mean that he did not have to face opposition at home and wars from refractory tribes of al-Yeman. He began to take a keen interest in the public life of the town. He regularly made rounds through the streets, supervise the market and fix prices despite

the opposition of local traders. This persistent supervision was not to the liking of the people who before long were led to plot against him. From the minaret they attacked him with bow and arrows but fortunately the attack mis-carried.

But this was not all. The greatest challenge to this new born Zaidi state came from Carmatians. Their "Da'wa" had been directed to al-Yeman, it is reported, since 266—but they became a serious menace to the Zaidies only after 290. Al-Hadi himself fought against them not less than seventy battles. The Carmatian movement was then being led by a Kufi called Ali b. Faḍal, who cleverly incited Christian of Najran against Al-Hadi, captured a town named Al-Sharaf in 292 and succeeded in forging alliance with some of the Yemani tribes against the Zaidies. In the same year *i.e.* 292 the Carmatians succeeded in capturing San'a. The Zaidi governor and many other citizen fled from the city and after gathering strength wrested San'a from the hands of the Carmatians in 293. Zaidies and the Carmatians encountered each other several times at San'a which suffered great devastation in consequence. The Carmatians were ultimately driven out of San'a after Hadi's death. However by 298 the date of al-Hadi's death, the Zaidi state was very well established. The boundaries of this state sometimes expanded to include San'a and at other times contracted to the starting point of Sa'da. Passing through the vicissitudes of time it has survived to this date as the oldest Imamat or even, loosely speaking, the oldest dynasty in the Muslim world.

Some aspects of the development of the Musalmans in Bengal in the 18th century

By

Abdul Majeed Khan, Dacca.

(This is the condensed form of a paper I had intended to read. My say has been presented in the briefest possible manner. References to authorities have been avoided.)

The paper relates to the Musalmans in Bengal. They were of two classes, in main. The ruling class were the Mughals who again among themselves were divided as Irani and Toorani Mughals. There was another class of Musalmans who were the ruled and they have been referred to as non-Mughals.

The English ascendency in Bengal in the 18th century was effected not in opposition to the Mughals but always with the help and support of the ruling class who gradually and almost imperceptibly effected their withdrawal. The English had attempted once to grab Chittagong by force and through open enmity and their attempt had failed. What they failed to achieve as enemies they secured easily as friends and with greater dividends. The first English colony was Calcutta including its two adjoining villages Sutanuti and Govindapur. These three villages were purchased in 1698 with the permission willingly accorded by Aurangzeb's grandson and the then Subedar of Bengal Prince Azimusshan on payment of a small sum of Rs. 16,000 made by the English. The middleman in the transaction was Khwaja Sarhad an Armenian Christian businessman who was culturally a brother of the Prince and by religion and profession a brother of English merchants. The English had been allowed fortified settlement in Calcutta two years before they actually made a purchase of the area. Two years after the purchase *i.e.* in 1700 the Mughal Sovereignty was completely withdrawn from Calcutta

by the same Prince and again in lieu of a very petty bribe. From 1700 the Presidency of Fort William thus started functioning. The English flag flew over Calcutta and the Asian residents of Calcutta became the English subjects, subject to English revenue and judicial administration.

In 1700 the Mughal authority in Bengal was so well established that Murshid Quli Khan who came as the Imperial Dewan in that year reduced the strength of the standing army which then stood at only 3000 cavalry. The arrival of Murshid Quli Khan in Bengal is a significant event for it was during his regime in different capacities as Dewan and later as Nazim until 1727 that Bengal witnessed the inauguration of major changes in social. economic and political fields. Some of them were as follows :—

(*i*) Abrogation of all jagirs in land which were so long being enjoyed by Principal Ameers of Delhi and were being administered either by their agents or by the local landlords;

(*ii*) Creation of a naval and artillery force of European Christian the charge of which was entrusted to the Padree of Bandel ;

(*iii*) Consolidation of revenue paying units into a number of big units called the zamindari districts. These grew by supplanting some non-Mughal Muslim estates also. One of zamindari districts comprised an area about of 13000 sq. miles.

(*iv*) The capital of Mughal Bengal changed its site from Dacca to Murshidabad which was near the centre of European mercantile activities in Bengal. The transfer took place in 1704.

(*v*) The continuous increase in revenue demand which went on until 1790. The degree of increase which were effected almost every year may be understood from the following figures; in 1700 the demand was

Rs. 1,18,09,125-12-16-1 kara. In 1721 the demand rose to 1,41,09,194-12-14-1 kara with an additional demand of Rs. 23,80,653-6-16-0 kara under different heads of cess.

(*vi*) Virtual unification of the two offices of Nazim and Dewan in the same person.

(*vii*) Influx of fortune seekers who were later merged in Mughal nobility. There were large number of immigrants from Persia specially after the fall of the Safavids.

Murshid Quli's regime also witnessed the imperial grant of 1717 to the English which transferred the Mughal sovereignty over their subjects living outside Calcutta also to the English. The grant was secured by John Surman and Khwaja Sarhad from Emperor Farrukhsyer and by bribing every conceivable creature of the Mughal court not excepting the Sadrus-sudoor and the Emperor himself.

Besides granting the right of setting up of British territorial pockets of 40 bighas wherever the English chose to establish their factory in Bengal and the right of purchase of 38 villages on both the banks of Bhagirati north of Calcutta, the *Farman* took away the rights of the Mughal officers to protect the Mughal subjects who were either rightly or wrongly charged by the English as indebted to them. The *Farman* read "whomsoever off ye Company's servants being debtors want to run away that they be siezed and delivered to ye chief of the Factory." This in fact placed the entire producing class (the peasants and the artisans) and the merchant community at the mercy of English as these people were either directly or indirectly connected with the English trade. Very often the Nawabs and the English quarelled on this issue and every time the English won their case.

The English had been given extra privileges by the Emperor to trade without any restriction and without any payment of custom duty and in lieu of an annual payment of Rs. 3000 to the

Imperial government. This placed the English trade at a greater advantage then the other European nations trading in Bengal. The English Dastak freed the merchant from all harassment at the hands of the government officers at different and innumerable chowkies set up within the province. The English took the full advantage of this privilege in giving protection to any and every merchant who wished the protection of English flag and English Dastak and in lieu of very nominal fees. The Calcutta house earned a heavy revenue from the import and export trade of Asian and European private trade. Thus the government was defrauded of the revenue which was legitimately theirs. But the English trade or the imports and exports under English flag were customs free under rights conferred by the rulers themselves.

The advantageous terms conceded to the English increased not only their volume of trade but also their influence amongst the newly and fast growing merchant class in the society. There thus grew an identity of interest between these two classes the English and the Indian merchants, bankers and Sarrafs.

The English again received the most favoured nation treatment from the rulers by successful biibing not only of the officials but also of the Nazims. The Calcutta consultations of the first 50 or 60 years of the 18th century contained innumerable instances where the Nawab failed to maintain an impartial attitude as between the different nations trading in Bengal. Instances are not lacking when the French, Dutch and the German ships were looted by the English and their complaints to the Nawab for redress went unheeded. Every time the Nawab and his ministers were silenced by payments ot bribes.

Instances are also there where the Mughal and Syed merchants of Hooghly failed to get any redress against the English despite the fact that their ships were captured and their effects with the ship sold by the English on flimsy pretext. The result of their complaint at least in one instance was that the Nawab secured

a payment of lac of rupees for himself and another twenty thousand for his officers while the complainant received virtually nothing.

The English on the other hand tried to be absolutely "neutral" whenever the Nawab was in dispute with the neighbouring Marhattas.

In this context the battle of Plassey has to be interpreted as the political expression of an existing social fact.

The battle of Plassey which was insignificant as a military event was not fought to oust the Mughal power but only to have a more obliging Nawab. Mir Jaffar it should be remembered, had not conceded any right which had not been granted by Nawab Sirajudollah in February 1757. Siraj had even pledged to regard the enemies of English as also his own enemies.

The event at Plassey was not regarded then as insulting to the Mughal political power. Besides the fact that the English had never hesitated since the early years of 18th century to retaliate the Government harassment by even use of force and by stopping non-European shipping to and from Bengal, they were immediately after the event of Plassey congratulated by the Mughal Emperor of Delhi. Lord Clive received the titles of Nawab Sabatjung Bahadur, Sahibjung and Ameer-ul-Mumalik. Not only Clive but every English servant of the Company who built up the English National supremacy in Bengal received similar honours and titles from the Emperor. Major Adams had the title of Muzaffar-ul-Mulk Saif-ud-doulah Ghalib Jung while Carnak received the titles of Mahmood doulah Basalatjung and Mansoor-ul-Mulk Ruknuddoulah Bahadurjung. Warren Hastings had the titles of Umdat-ul-Mulk and Jaladat Jung.

The Dewani of Bengal was offered by the Emperor no less than three times and the English refused them every time. It was offered through Major Adams in 1761 and again through Major Coota in 1763. The third offer came in writing from the

Emperor to the President of the Council of Fort William " If the English intend to take possession of the country they should pay royal revenues month by month. In case of conquering other territories they should assign a part of revenue thereof to the royal Sarkar, attend His Majesty's service and regulate the whole Empire."

The sole interest of the Emperor and of the ruling class since the earliest days of the Mughal conquest has been the supply of ready money from Bengal. From the days of Aurangzeb the Bengal revenue had become the principal source of the maintenance of His Majesty and the Imperial court, "As the subsistence of Royal Army and His Majesty's other expenses" reads a letter from the Emperor to Mir Jaffar "depend upon the remittance from Bengal it is hoped that the Nawab will hold himself accountable for the customary revenue and *Peshkash*," During Ali Vardi's *nizamat* the Emperor did not hesitate to set the Marhattas upon Bengal only to avoid the Marhatta demands for money.

The revenue administration was transferred to the English in August 1765 on the promise of annual payment of Rs. 24 lacs for the Emperor and Rs. 2 lacs for the Prime Minister. Between the transfer of Calcutta to the English in 1698 and that of the Dewani of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa in 1765 there was no difference in principle. Both the transfers withdrew Bengal from the effective sovereignty of the Mughal ruling power. The general Mughal attitude to the English and the economic and social condition of the Mughal nobles in India may be better understood from the two letters of 1764 quoted below. These papers will speak for themselves. The letter from Zain-ul-Abdien belonging to the group of Asad Khan in reply to Major Manroe reads thus:

"Has received through Asad Khan his letter desiring the writer to join the English Army with as many able bodied and well mounted Mughals, Tooranies etc. as possible. Although it is desirable for all men particularly for men of family to desert the service they are engaged in and to go over to their master's

enemies yet there are several reasons which justifies his conduct in the Mughals.

First the Wazier notwithstanding his oaths upon the Quran murdered the Nawab Muhammad Quli Khan who was the glory of the Mughals and who, to the writer, was dearer than a father or a brother.

Secondly the Wazier's behaviour to the Nawab Mir Qasem, who is a descendent of the Prophet, has been very shameful. It is not allowed by any religion that a person who flees to another for protection with his family and effects even if he be a person of low rank should meet with treatment other than friendly. "Why then has he in violation of his oath and agreement behaved in such a manner as to incur universal censure and reflect disgrace upon Mughal name."

Thirdly he has never failed to break any engagement he has entered into and every oath he has taken.

Fourthly neither he nor his Ministers pay any regard to his own sign manual.

Fifthly with regard to the Mughal who are strangers in the country and who having nothing to depend upon but their monthly pay are brought to distress whenever that is stopped, he thinks nothing but how to oppress them. Moreover he takes no notice of man of family but place all his confidence in low and worthless people.

Sixthly he by no means makes a proper distinction between his friends and his enemies and makes a practice of countenancing the latter and ill-treating the former.

The assisting and supporting of such an oppressor is neither conformable to reason nor to the Quran nor to the rules of any religion and the quitting of his service can reflect nor dishonour upon any one either in the sight of God or man. Therefore if the English who are celebrated for their justice and good faith are desirous of an alliance with the Mughals and are willing to agree to their just demands and to swear to the ob-

servance of the agreement by the names of Jesus and Mary and if the gentleman of the Council put their seal to it and speedily forward it a great number of Mughals and Tooranies will, without delay, join the English Army."

The Agreement referred to in the above letterreads as follows:—

" (*i*) The Company should in every respect regard as its own the honour and reputation of Mughals who are strangers in this country and make them its confederates in every business.

(*ii*) They should be granted proper place in the country for habitation of their families and dependents.

(*iii*) Whereas Rs. 60/- a month have been fixed for all but Jamadars, Hawaldars and Dafedars, there are several privates who have always been distinguished and have received from 100 to 300 rupees a month. These men should be allowed more than what they received in the Wazier's army.

(*iv*) Whatever Mughals, whether Iranis or Tooranies, come to offer their service they should be received on the aforesaid terms. Moreover a present of Rs. 100 should be immediately given and a month's pay advanced them.

(*v*) At present there should not be raised any difficulty as to the size of horses.

(*vi*) Whenever a Mughal is killed in battle or dies a natural death his son or relation should be received in his place.

(*vii*) As several men are in debt a small sum of money should be sent to enable them to discharge their debt.

(*viii*) Should any one be desirous of returning to his own country his arrears should be immediately paid and he should be discharged in peace."

The above letters reveal one and important social fact. The Mughal nobles who according to the ideal of Mughal absolutism were kept entirely at the mercy of the monarch had as a result of his loosing the control over the economic resources in the society thrown into a pitiable condition. The absolutism works so long as, it should be remembered, the economic resources in the society is controlled and concentrated in one hand. The impact of mercantilism had :already changed the economic pattern of the society where feudal economy was incompatable. The maintenance of a feudal social order without its requisite economic base was an absurdity. This had been clearly established in many events of the 18th century Bengal. Special mention may be made of the role of the house of Jaggat Seth in the debacle of 1757 which re-asserted in the most unmistakable manner the fact that power had come to a new class which controlled the economic resources of the country. At least Mir Qasim was very clear in his mind about the social facts that Sarrafs and merchants' were nowhere no ones servant'.

Since the sources of economic power in the country were yet limited to land ownership and commerce, the Mughal nobility on their decline of the Timurid power became gradually interested in land ownership.

On the assumption of the Dewani by the English, Clive and the Naib Dewan Raza Khan patronised a large section of the Mughal nobles by conferring on them Jagirs in Bihar. The number of Jagirs and Jagirdars increased almost every year. The Court of Directors of the East India Company were very much sympathetic towards the nobles and had ordered the Calcutta Government to make these Jagirdars the permanent land holders of their respective regions. Accordingly in the revenue consultation of December 1, 1790, Cornwallis decided that

"Government's resumption should be confined to the sovereign share of the produce and that the grantee or occupant should be continued in possession and considered as the proprietors. On their agreeing to pay the due proportion of the public revenue, they will thus be put on the same footing with the other land holders."

These explain a very important social fact that in Bengal the percentage of Muslim land ownership varied between 1 and 5 % upto 1790-91, most of the land holders being locals and belonging to non-ruling class. There grew a large and powerful land owning class of Mughals in Bihar.

The attitude of the early English Administrators beginning from Clive was one of sympathetic consideration towards these Mughal nobility whom they utilised in ever increasing number in the various branches of the expanding administrative machinery.

A particular mention should be made of Muhammad Raza Khan. He was given the most important administrative post on a salary of 9 lacs per year while his colleague Raja Dulab Ram was granted only 2 lacs per year. Muhammad Raza Khan an immigrant Mughal was considered pro-English and so he was appointed in place of Maharaj Nandkumar who was considered as too dangerous for the English interest. Mir Jaffer's family was created as the Muslim nobility in Bengal and were granted sufficient allowance for the maintenance of their dignity. Mir Jaffar it is to be remembered was absolutely dependent on the English and the favour that was shown to his family was certainly an act of charity rather than of political necessity. It is on record that a family of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan was given allowance of amount varying between 15 and 80 rupees per month by Nawab Ali Vardy. Clive increased their allowances. Jasarat Khan another immigrant Mughal noble in Bengal was installed as hereditary Naib Nazim of Dacca with an adequate allowance although with limited power.

Phillip Francis had even suggested to Lord North that the entire administration should be left in the hands of Mughal nobles and the Hindus should be driven back to agriculture only. It is not unnatural therefore that Ghulam Hussain Khan Taba Tabai hailed English as Savoirs of the Mughals. His only objection was to the prominence and the importance that the English showed to the Hindu Bania class. The complaint that Bishop favour received at Dacca early in the nineteenth century also echoed the same note.

There was thus co-operation and collaboration offered to the English by the ruling class in Bengal. There was however another class of Musalmans in Bengal who had proved themselves obnoxious to the growing English power in Bengal. The Raja of Birhoon who maintained a sort of a semi-independent status throughout the Mughal rule resented the frequent changing of Nawab and thereby incurred the displeasure of Mir Qasam and his English friends. The result was that an English army was sent and Birhoon was the first time brought under the rule of the Bengal Nawab. The Raja was Asad Zaman Khan.

Abu Turab Chowdhry of Sandwip who had only about 3 annas share of the Purgana formed a confederacy against the English revenue agents who suddenly increased the revenue of the Pargana from below 30 thousands per year to 65 thousand per year. Again an English army was sent and the Chawdhry died fighting in 1767.

Most of the peasants of Rangpur and Dinajpur resented the continuous increase of the revenue made by the farmer Kamal-uddin Hussain and his agent Raja Devi Singh, and they rose in revolt under the leadership of Bashoonia, Nooruddin and declared a war against the English. This time too an English army was sent and the peasant rising was ruthlessly crushed. The Rangpur peasants kept up their struggle throughout the eightees of the 18th century.

In all these cases the revolts were lead by the people who had struck their roots in the soil. Their fight was motivated by pure economic consideration while the collaboration of the Mughal nobles was also governed by their interest of self reservation in a changed social order.

PAKISTAN — A PATTERN OF DEMOCRACY

By

Prof. S. S. Ahmad, Hyderabad.

The way to democracy does not actually open with political freedom, as it is commonly believed, but it originates in the availability of opportunities for all the individuals of the society to perform justly and skilfully all the offices both public and private for the good of the country and for humanity at large.

The responsibility of the society and the individual is reciprocal and the former cannot make a healthy growth by imposing undue limitations on the latter's freedom to think, decide and act. Taking advantage of the most antique tendencies of devotion, sacrifice and faith of the individual, society has assumed the form of a mythical personality—an awful threat to the genuine and most legitimate rights of the individual.

Democracy, in intention and spirit respects human personality and dignity but the birth of the collective Ego in the organization has denied the individual Ego, resulting in discontent, discomfort and dismay. The glory of the collective Ego is, as a matter of fact, due to the surrender of the individual's self which though in principle is free and dignified, yet the assertion of the quality is not appreciated. If one strives to assert, the economic bondage appears as a stumbling block and quality is to be led by quantity. His assertive effort does not actually mean, breaking away from the pact, but working out his salvation and freedom from delusion. He does not aim at destroying the organization but is rather repugnant to be dismissed by the metaphysical concept. He is not in conflict with the society but looks for a better survival in the fold. He is not to play a giant stalking the length and breadth of social life to pulverize the best.

An organization based on animate co-operation and not on inanimate cohesion, provides adequate and proper scope and relief for the individual who endeavours to follow all the regulative principles to promote and establish harmony. He is encouraged by the harmonious working of the universe which inspite of its having a bewildering diversity behind it, manages to pin up with the affairs of the complicated group of life—a democratic whole, which manifests unity from plurality without ignoring the quantitative and qualitative co-herence, unfolding the real potentialities of life.

Much is based on right thinking, sound reasoning, healthy arguments, impartial opinion and judgement to form a successful democratic body where absolute equality is not denied and the display of extra-ordinary potentialities in ordinary people is not closed up ; and yet an ordinary man how humbly born he may be, has to possess qualities which may get him a chance to master the minds and imaginations of the whole community. The qualities can be attained only through knowledge and knowledge can be had only through such educative leadership which lays open the latent humane forces in every citizen and makes his conscience a guide and sincerity, rectitude and moral uprightness an unbreakable shield to his memory.

True leadership therefore plays the chief role in building up the destiny of the nation in a democratic country. We were indeed very fortunate to have Quaid-i-Azam as the chief head of the Republic of Pakistan who knew that Indian politics was an unfortunate phenomenon where leaders were representing conflicting ideologies and instead of trying to understand each other misled the public and their own self.

The great Quaid carved out a state based on the principles of self government and equipped the people to organise, control and conduct themselves with ability and integrity both on the national and international platforms. Our democracy is not reserved for the chosen few but it equips every citizen to acquit with credit and honour with solidarity of opinion for the good of the community, the State and mankind as a whole. Quaid-i-Azam or in the

words of Shahid-i-Millat "the Disraeli of Indian Politics" outlines our life saying "service, suffering and sacrifice are absolutely essential conditions before we can achieve anything big and secure our rightful place in the national life of our country". He further says, "organise yourselves establish your solidarity and complete unity. Work loyally, honestly and for the cause of your people and your country. No individual or people can achieve anything without industry, suffering and sacrifice."

Such attitudes, tastes and principles compass the real vitality of our progressive social order enabling us to be fully conscious of our due rights and responsibilities without the least spirit of coersion and work with moderating and humanising influence to ameliorate and improve the conditions of life.

In our State the Head and the people are not poles apart. There is a system of checks and balances and the chosen representatives of the people do not allow the Head to act arbitrarily like a human divinity. He is bound to take advice from the learned and the experts, on all state matters. Law is always the uppermost and the Head is to do good to the citizens and shun from "issuing orders while he is overpowered with anger or lust" (Tibri Ch. II). He is also capable of reforming the officers for otherwise he cannot reform the lot of the people. He has to give proper importance to food and water, but even the least thing is not ignored or neglected and its consequences are properly probed into, for ولا تخفرن امراً صغيراً فربما غوث- الا فاعی من مسموم العقارب

"you should not despise a small thing, for it often happens that snakes die from the poison of scorpions" (Tibri pr-3)

The fundamental and basic principle of our country is to maintain a civilized administration where justice and fairplay are the elementary rights of all the citizens. Every one is free to speak the truth and is never bullied like Boris Pasternak, the Russian Noble Prize winner who was awarded the disagreeable title of "Traitor" and his work "Doctor Zhivago" a Slander. Full opportunity is provided for every man to develop virtues (الفضائل) by building up good character after subjugating the life of passion to

the life of reason. The physical form (خلق) and the spiritual form (خلق) are to go together and are to be blended in a way when character becomes the spiritual constitution and good action (جميل) forces or emanates spontaneously without any restrain for the good of the community and perpetual springtime is ensured both for the nation and the state through a healthy expression of character in its absolute aspect where only the good is picked up and the expression or action is not incidental or momentary but innate and perpetual.

Our democracy provides equal opportunity for all citizens to work in harmony with reason and wisdom(عقل و حکمت) to cultivate such consciousness which protects the soul from falling a prey to the Evil and the individual works for the good of the society with forbearance (حلم) nobleness (کرم) clearness of vision (تقوۃالرائے) firmness (ثبات) and (وقار) weightness and dignity.

Our leadership is not extracted rather acknowledged where the crown is not the "will" of the "Head" but the willing obedience of the masses who resist the Wrong and assert the Right. The Head therefore has to hold the cup of reality in a grip of steel without recognising his own aims a higher law ignoring the human rights and paying hypocritical lip-service to the nation. Clear-headedness, open-heartedness, warmth of feeling, integrity of purpose and encyclopaedic knowledge of all world problems are the salient features of our Head who knows his own mind as well as the mind of the people and is first true to his own self and then to the masses for he knows that "Thou to thyself must first be true. Thou canst then be false to any one" (Shakespeare).

Our democracy aims at eradicating such class conflicts which divides the society into the Haves and Have-nots by securing social peace where the worker is not forced to accept the conditions of dependence or starve. Justice reigns supreme. Marx's theory of exploitation of labour is not allowed to gain ground. Labour both talented and manual, is respected and justly paid. In our

system it is necessary that the whole population is at the highest watermark in education, morality and intellect. The very mind is elevated to such a pitch which is not only able to receive but to live upto the democratic principles. Private enterprise or the individual initiative is not interfered, but no individual is allowed to rule another or get rich at the expense of his fellow-citizens. The spirit of commerce, trade, industry, labour and thrift is stimulated. Hoarding or profiteering is discouraged and the existence of shylocks is made impossible.

Our motto therefore is —

Money is lost nothing is lost ;
Courage is lost much is lost ;
Honour is lost most is lost ;
Soul is lost, all is lost.

Development of The Caliphate System In Islam

By

A. B. A. Qadri, Comilla.

The basic point to remember about Islam is that it is a complete code of life both spiritual and mundane and that this code of life teaches a Muslim, a convert to Islam, to pray ربنا اتنا فی الدنیا حسنتہ و فی الآخرة حسنتہ و قنی عزاب النار for his constant betterment in this world as well as in the next. We have further to remember that the Kalima (*i.e.* the verse recited by a new convert) contains the entire teaching of Islam in a short meaningful sense لاالہ الااللہ محمد الرسول اللہ . The first part of this Kalima means that a Muslim believes and thus acts throughout his life on the principle of لاالہ اللہ and promulgates it boldly saying that he does not believe any شریک of God in his action as well as inner thoughts and secondly by believing in the prophethood of his prophet *i.e.* the prophet having brought a complete faith the individual Muslim has to observe the principles of Islam fully and faithfully. Later on every Muslim is urged by the Koran to observe all the covenants he has entered into with God through His Prophet in the verse (سورہ مائدہ) یا ایہاالازین امنوا وفد بلعقود ('Oh : Yee believers fulfil your covenants :). These covenants embrace all the spheres of life spiritual and moral besides the worldly? Hence if a comparison is drawn with either Christianity, Budhism, Hinduism or Zorastrianism etc. etc. we find that in Islam a simple profession in the unity of God and the prophethood of Mohammad (The Holy Prophet) completes ones conversion to the faith binding him however to follow a set way of life which is called the Islamic way. The case is however quite different when a convert chooses to be enrolled in the faith of Budha or Christ or Zoraster or the Vedas. The new convert has to pass through a muddle of rituals and forms of worship before formally being accepted as a member of the new faith without however being compelled to give up his social eminence or political beliefs or commercial occupations and professions.

This difference is a real difference because in the faith of Islam there is planned a complete charter of laws socio-economic cum political. Detailed laws on government have been enunciated by the Holy founder or fountain-head of the religion himself. The Holy Prophet of Islam besides preaching the religion of Islam enunciated and worked out a politico-social order which he implanted in the soil of Medina (the city) where he established his government after being rejected by the people of Mecca who it will be useful to remember were ever ready to crown the Prophet a king if he only compromised with the Meccans on the vital issue of letting Mecca and Arabia worship the idols placed in Kaba along with profession of faith in God and His Prophet and allowing the Meccans to continue with their age-old socio-economic-cum political order undisturbed with the Prophet as the head of this order. But it should be borne in mind that it was really the social order preached by the Prophet (a new heaven on earth) concerning the laws governing rights of the individual, common man, justice (civil and criminal) and abolition of slavery, polyandry, multigamy, and usury and the levy on capital (Zakat tax) which were the main cause of the long duel rather the see-saw battle between him (the City State of Medina) and the opponents of the Islamic order (*i.e.* Meccan Qureish and their allies).

The prophet washed the minds and souls of the Arabs and the faithful fall the filth of paganism and degenerate Christianity and Judaism and then created a society wherein every body had equal rights and was a citizen of the State in the legal and wider sense of the term and not in the Greek sense only.

The call for a new order is always met with opposition by the vested interests who have every thing to loose but nothing to gain whilst the down-trodden, the slaves and the have-nots always welcome the new order hoping to get relief at the hands of the new dispensation. Islam met with the greatest opposition any religion has ever met but once it triumphed it opened the flood-gates of democracy with revolutionary consequences. The long and arduous struggle which the companions of the Prophet had

under-gone to build their new Order in Arabia were forgotten and the young and youthful enthusiasts either hoped to repeat the achievement of the Prophet or to forcibly take over the government of the land from the hands that were directing it. The dark clouds of opposition were gathering when the Prophet answered the call from the heavens. Rival and false prophets in Yeman and Nefā and other parts too of Christian and pagan origin raised their heads. Adventurers captured provincial governments perpetrating acts of arson, loot, murder and molestation of women and it seemed as if Arabia would be either permanently divided into petty warring states or that the new order of Islam would be completely wiped out when the Divine hand guided Muslims into creating a form of Government the like of which had yet to be seen by the world — I mean the Caliphal system of Government.

The Prophet left no male heirs. He left a band of devoted followers *i.e.* the Ansar and Muhajreen. In the midst of the Muhajreen were the jems of the line of Qureish and his two sons-in-law and two fathers-in-law. At the time of the passing away of the Prophet, Ali was a youngman of 30 or near about whilst Osman though a son-in-law had unfortunately lost his wife—the daughter of the Prophet. Naturally there remained from amongst the Qureish only Abu Bakar and Umar. It was on Abu Bakar that the choice of the Muslim community fell. This election is called Ijma in the books of Fiqh and this being the first Ijma of the Ummat or the Muslim community after the Prophet carries a great significance and has its own importance when judged in law and weighed in the balance of constitution.

The Islamic legal system and structure or the Fiqh or the law includes the knowledge of duties and obligations resting upon the individual both in relation to the Society as well as the State.

A Western writer Monsieur Demombynes in his book Muslim Institutions surveys this problem in the passages quoted as under :—

"In the difficult task of guiding the little flock of the faithful, Muhammad had assumed the role of a judge, a law-giver and a chief, functions for which it would appear that he had become fit, suddenly and miraculously, as soon as he had put his foot in Quba, at the gates of Medina"........."without effort and with complete sincerity, he solved by the Divine word, all the problems raised in the process of organising the Muslim community" ....(He proceeds summing up,) "On arriving in Medina, Muhammad concluded with the local Arab tribes a pact which, without providing absolutely for their conversion to Islam, bound them to recognise his personal authority. Monsieur Demombynes further observes, "On his death in 632 as if he had really thought that the world would end before him, he (*i.e.* the Prophet) left his Muslims leaderless. The Muslim community was a haphazard group that he had brought together by the unity of the faith, by his reputation as a Prophet and by his personal ascendency. He had been a tribal Shaikh, a supreme judge—inspired by God doubtless—but without the authority that dynastic traditions and political customs can confer on a king. His revelation has not declared the power that should succeed him and which should ensure the continuity of the Muslim community. It seemed about to dissolve in apostasy and revolt. The hereditary idea foreign to the political habits of the Arabs was moreover excluded by the fact that Muhammad left no male child; it was only at a later period that the ideas were revived. Instinctively, recourse was had to the palavers that accompanied the election of a Shaikh by the tribes. An attempt was made to reconcile individual ambition, tribal vanity and ordinary instincts and it was wonderfully fortunate for the future of Islam that Abu Bakr, companion of his beginnings and father of Aisha, the Prophets favourite wife, was chosen to be the lieutenant of the Envoy of God (Khalafate-Rasulillah)."(pp. 17/18) Whilst passing the above judgement Monsiur De-Memombynes has failed to understand that Islam claims to be the last of the series of revealed religions and that it claims to have finalised all the teachings brought to the world by the Prophets who were innumerable in number and who without exception

preceded the Holy Founder of Islam. In the verse (پاره ٢٥) قل انما انا بشر مثلکم یوحی الی انما الهکم اله واحد۔ فاستقیموا الیه واستغفروه و ویل للمشرکین The God of Islam (in this verse) clearly enunciated the position of the Holy Prophet *i.e*, that he (the Prophet) is or was only a divine agent for fulfilling a divine command. Further in the verse لااکراه فی الدین and in لکم دینکم ولی دین He clearly defines the scope of the Islamic teachings. The position of the Prophet is however comparable to the position of Moses, the Prophet of the old Testament as in the verse انا ارسلنا الیکم رسولاً شاهداً علیکم کما ارسلنا الی فرعون رسولا۔ فعصی فرعون الرسول فاخذناه اخذاً وبیلا (سپاره ٢٩ سوره مزمل مکیه) فکیف تتقون ان کفر تم *i.e.* the opponents of the Prophet and the Meccan nobility shall suffer the fate of the Court of Pharoah وما کان اللّٰه لیعذ بهم وانت فیهم سپاره ۹ سوره انفال *i.e.* God shall not punish the Meccans as long as you are with them قل لکم میعاد یوم لا تستاخرون عنه ساعة ولا تستقد مون (سپاره ٢٢ سوره سبا رکوع ٣) *i.e.* a limit is placed to the patience of God and that after this period is over the Meccans will be punished. A further clarification of the position of Prophet is in the Ayat as under :- وان کا دوالستفزونک من الارض لیخر جوک منها واذاً لا یلبثون خلا فک الا قلیلا سپاره ١٥ سوره بنی اسرائیل رکوع (٨) Surely these people shall throw you out of Mecca and they too shall not stay there long after (thee) you. In انحال فرض علیک القران لرادک الا معاد the verse Surely God who has given you the Koran will take you to Mecca (as a victor).

The Prophet had been promised by God that he was not going to suffer at the hands of the Meccans in the verse واللّٰه یعصمک من الناس. Therefore it should be kept in mind that he was a fearless leader and being a Prophet of God he had nothing to fear for either himself or his flock. In the verse سیهزم الجمع ویولون الدبر there is a clear fore-telling that the enemies of the Prophet and Muslims will be defeated. Further in the Quranic prayer :- رب ان قومی کذبون فا فتح بینی و بینهم فتحاً و نجنی ومن معی من المومنین (Oh, my Lord my people have dis-believed in me. Come and be a judge between me and them and save me and my fold ; God has fore-told that Islam and its Holy Preacher shall both emerge as the victors in the tussle that was going on with Mecca and its leaders and their allies.

Therefore I have to submit that in the course of his long ministry in Mecca when offers were made to compromise (e g. by the Quraish) or of full help by the بنو عامر بن صعصعه with the extraction of the promise that they would succeed to the mastery of Arabia after the Prophet, the Holy Founder of Islam gave an outright rejection to the proposals by saying "It is for God alone to bestow Govt. on whomsoever He pleaseth. Moreover it should be also kept in mind that when مسیلمہ کذاب wrote to the Prophet asking to divide Arabia between himself *i.e.* Mussailema and Banu Hanifa on the one side and Prophet *i.e.* the Quraish and the Prophet on the other, the Prophet gave him a curt refusal and told him that it was for God to appoint whomsoever He liked as a ruler on earth and that rulership on earth went by His choice and not by man's or a group's like or dislike. ان الا رض یر ثها عبادی الصالحون.

It is therefore that a historian who has no bias either for Islam or against Islam shall have to admit God's own hand in helping His Prophet and the Muslims community *i.e.* the Sahaba after the sad event of the Master's demise. The Prophet had left behind him a very religious and disciplined community with full faith in the fact that Allah was حی لا یموت and that success in this life as well as the next is due to His grace. But side by side it should be in the knowledge of the historian that the Spartan discipline inculcated in his fold by the Prophet left them like بنیان مرصوص . Whenever any tough situation came for the believers they were happy to note that all the trials (wars) did prove the truthfulness of the Prophet and also clearly showed that God was on their (*i.e.* the Muslims) side.

ولما رآ الموءمنون الا احزب قالو اهذا ما و عدنا الله ورسوله و صدق الله ورسوله و
ما زاد هم الله ایماناً و تسلیما

The order of the day issued on the غزوات by the Prophet contained detailed snstructions on war and peace, behaviour towards enemy and at times comprehensive instructions on law private, state and international. The (سریہ) Siryas that the Prophet sent towards Najd, Yeman, North Arabia and Hedjaz served the multiple purpose of training the soldiers, the officers and generals in the actual field as well as in all matters connected with war and peace.

Hence when the Prophet died he left a large number of highly trained generals, a great army of faithful and hardy soldiers, a body of jurists and judges and a vast mass of laws (national and international) and a complete code of life, civil, criminal etc. etc. Therefore at the time of the sad demise of the Prophet the community at Medina needed only a superb leader both well-trained in the arts of war and peace and fully conversant with the *sunna* of the Prophet besides having full knowledge of the tribes and sub-tribes of Arabia. More-over being an aristocrat preferably of the ligarcy of Mecca, he should have been rich in body and soul with a fund of experience un-equalled by the rest of the companions Muhajir or Ansar. The law of Islam was complete in all respects and the Islamic State of Medina-Arabia had been set on firm footings—besides having a constitution of its own. The community of Islam or the (Sahaba) was the خليفة الله فى الارض like the previous peoples of the book and they were promised the inheritance of Abraham, Ismael, Isaac, Moses and Solomon. Hence the growth of the Islamic community after the Prophet was already fore-told by the God of Koran Himself. It is a marvel of History that the passing away of the Prophet did not upset the Muslim community to such an extent that they should have lost their homogenity and quality. As narrated by Ibne Ishaq and other historians, when Haẓrat 'Omar told the congregation in the mosque that the Prophet was only in a trance. Haẓrat Abu Bakr delivered his poignant address :—

The entire community realised that the event which was scheduled to pass had already over-taken them and when again Abu Bakr told the collected congregation in the مسجدالنبوی after taking a *bait* (thirty three thousand took *bait* with him on the first day) that :—

1. He was elected to be their Wali. وليتكم

2. He was going to administer strict justice.

3. He was going to launch a *Jehad.*

4. He was to be guided by the righteous, and

5. If he did not follow the Koran people had a right not to obey him, *i.e.* the community had a right to rebel against an unfaithful caliph: a case in example is of Yazid and some of the Ommayyads who ultimately lost their sovereignty on account of positive popular hatred and nation-wide dislike of their way of life and rulership which was opposed to Islam.

The position of the Caliph and the caliphate thus becomes crystal clear.

Now it is at this stage that we have to consider what is meant by a Khalifa. According to Maulana Masood Nadvi author of خلفائے راشدین the word Khalifa means کسی کی جگہ پر بیٹھنا. Does this word means also that Abu Bakr was the recipient of a Divine commission like his master Muḥammad—the Holy Prophet. It has become a general belief amongst Muslims as the Nadvi author says that this person is both Imam and Khalifa اپنے پیشرو کے لحاظ سے خلیفہ ہے اور پیرووں کے لحاظ سے امام ہے. But I think we have to reconsider this question rather issue. It should be borne in mind that the religion of Islam claims to be the last revealed religion of the world and also that the revelation was completed through the Holy Prophet الیوم اکملت لکم دینکمو اتممت علیکم نعمتی ورضیت لکم الاسلام دینا. Now therefore when the religion was completed and fully established as borne out by the خطبہ of the Holy Prophet at the حجۃالوداع what was the reason for God to send another man.

The contention of the author of سیرت‌النبی (Syed Sulaiman) (Pages Nos. 701-702) is :

آپکے بعد بارہ خلفاء کے ہونے کی شہادتیں حدیث کی مختلف کتابوں مین مختلف الفاظ میں آئی ھیں - صحیح مسلم میں یہ الفاظ ھیں " اس وقت تک یہ اسلامی حکوست اچھی رھیگی جبتک اسپر بارہ آدمی حکومت کریں گے" "یہ حکومت اس وقت تک ختم نہیں ھوگی جبتک اسپر بارہ خلیفہ حکمران نہ ھو لیں " " بارہ خلیفوں تک اسلام معزز اور محفوظ رہے گا " میرے بعد قریش میں سے بارہ خلیفہ ھوں گے پھر جھوٹے لوگ ھوں گے "............حافظ ابن حجر ابوداؤد کے الفاظ کی بنا پر خلفائے

راشدین اور بنی امیہ میں سے ان بارہ خلفاء کو گناتے ہیں جن کی خلافت پر تمام
امت کا اجتماع رہا۔ یعنی حضرت ابوبکر ۔ حضرت عمر ۔ حضرت عثمان ۔ حضرت علی۔
امیر معاویہ۔ یزید ۔ عبدالملک ۔ ولید ۔ سلیمان ۔ عمر بن عبدالعزیز ۔ یزید ثانی ۔ ھشام
شیعہ فرقہ تو اس حدیث کی تشریح میں اپنے بارہ اماموں کو پیش کردے گا۔

Ayat 55.

Tafsir ibn Kat͟hir

Tafsir Kas͟h-s͟hāf —

Translation of the verse in a manuscript copy found at the Khp. Public Library (about 300/400 years old).

وعدہ دادہ است خدا آنانرا کہ ایمان آوردند از شما و عملهای شائشتہ
کردہ اند البتہ خلیفہ سازد ایشا نرا در زمین چنانکہ خلیفہ ساختہ بود انانرا کہ پیش
از ایشان ۔ بودند یعنی چنانکہ بنی اسرائیل1 بعد عما لقہ بادشاہ ساخت و البتہ محکم
کند برای ایشان دین‌الیشان راکہ پسندهست‌برای‌ایشان و البتہ بدل‌کند دربارایشان‌بعد از
ترس ایشان ایمنی را پرستش‌کنند مرا و شریک‌مقرر نکنند بااین چزے را و ہر کہ ناسپاسے
کند بعد ازیں پس آنجما عتہ ایشا نند فاسقان یعنی چنانکہ قاتلان عثمان کر دند

Scholars have however given different interpretations of this basic verse and on these interpretations hinges a good deal of the contentions that have found their way into the polimical writings of the Islamic groups. I am concerned however only with the views on Caliphate that can be directly derived from the clear words of the Holy Quran. If therefore we follow the Quranic pronouncements we come to the following conclusions :—

(a) The Caliphate as promised in Islam leaves no room for heredity.

(b) Certain conditions are laid down which have got to be fulfilled in order to arrive at the correct application of the term Caliph to any person accepted as such.

The language used by the Holy Quran in this context is that of a promise held out to those Muslims who were the first recipients of the revealed book. Hence Shah Waliullah, the great

Indian divine of later days who is accepted as a great authority on Islam, has in his well-known book ازالته الخفاء عن خلافته الخلفاء categorically denied the continuity of this institution after the four 1st caliphs. He says:

این ایت برائے کسانیست که درزمان نزول سوره نور موجود بودند نه برائے دیگران

He excludes the Omayyads and the Abbasids both from among the Caliphs. But the position of the first successor to the Islamic throne is that he neither claims to be from God nor does he preach his message saying that he is commissioned from God to do so. He simply stands up to preach what his master had taught the faithful *i.e.* that Allah is حی لایموت and that the Prophet has passed away. On election to office he simply asserts his desire to rule firmly, strictly and according to the laws of the Quran. It is proper to remember here that the Holy Prophet after receiving the divine message assembled the populace of Mecca and delivered them a sermon in the name of the Divinity as he was commissioned by Him. Such is not the case with Abu Bakr. The Prophet combined in himself the religious headship of Islam as well as the political headship of Medina-cum Arabia. Is it a fact that Abu Bakr received only one of the above two or both? As history tells us he was the recipient of only the political headship *i.e.* he was elected to succeed the Prophet in his capacity of the head of the state and not the head of the church because the Prophet never founded a church. There being no littany, litturgy and and priesthood in Islam.

Here at this point the Orthodox will quote the following verse from the Koran :—انا ارسلنا الیکم رسولاً شاهداً علیکم کما ارسلنا الی فرعون رسولا and deduce from this verse that just as after Moses there came Yoshua bin Hoon so therefore did come Abu Bakr after the Prophet followed by Omar, Osman and Ali. But we have to consider another verse in the Holy Book as quoted by the author I have already referred to above وعداللّٰہ الزین امنوا منکم و عملوا الصالحات لیستخلفنهم فی الارض کما استخلف الزین من قبلکم و یمکنن لهم دینهم الزی ارتضی لهم و یبدلهنم من بعد خو فهم امنا Here than is a simple promise to the believers who were present at the time of سوره نور of future

glory to them of being made the خلیفہ of God on earth. According to the author I have quoted and according to Orthodox Islam it applies to all the خلفائے راشدین and according to Sulaiman Nadvi and Shibli even to the Banu Umayya. Here the great Shah Sahib however missed the import of the last words ولیبدلنهم من بعد خوفهم امنا *i.e.* I shall change your fear into content and peace. Here is a promise to provide to the community only one leader under whom the Muslims would become خلیفہ of God *i.e.* Master of God's earth who will help them in changing their خوف into امن and also achieve world hegemony. Now خوف was never so great for the believers as after the death of the Holy Prophet when Islam was driven by events to seek refuge within the walls of Medina, Mecca and Taif. Such was the fear of Muslims that the Mednite Muslims requested Abu Bakr to stop جیش اسامہ from marching on to the Roman front. But Abu Bakr refused to do so being not directly recipient of the وحی as was his Master saying :-

خدا کی قسم اگر مدینہ اسطرح درندوں سے خالی ہوجائے کہ درندے اک میری ٹانگ کھیچنے لگیں جب بھی میں اس مہم کو روک نہیں سکتا ۔ (خلفائے راشدین ندوی ۳۸).

Therefore the term امام used by the author and his explanation about the خلفائے راشدین that they hold both religious and political headship is not established. Moreover the very first sermon that Hazrat Abu Bakr delivered after being chosen as the caliph in no sense proves the Orthodax position. If ever there was a promise from God to give the Muslims help and succour by giving them an able ruler and in whom they would attain world hegemony it means that a virtuous leader from amongst the followers of the Prophet would be given to them after the Prophet as (He) God had already finalised Islam اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم ... دينا and also because he was labelled as the خاتم النبین. Besides if at all God was going to give to the Muslims spiritual leaders immediately after the Prophet and Prophet should have himself either indicated this or nominated his own successor, the appropriate time being the حجتہ الوداع. This is the position held by Shia Islam but disputed by the Orthodox. The point of significance is that the Prophet being the خاتم النبین he remains the living spiritual head of Islam. Therefore according to the interpretation of the Orthodox creed

there could have been no spiritual head plus a political head after the Prophet. If we apply this to Shia creed, this same verse quoted now *i.e.* وعدالله الزين امنو امنكم does not prove their point as the words ليبد لنهم من بعد خو فهم امنا mean that the servant succeeding the Prophet should be able to change the خوف of Muslims into امن. This was never achieved even partially by Hazrat Ali. The Siffin war annihilated 60 thousand Muslims and in this group were soldiers and generals of world renown—an army which could have literarily run our the whole earth. This great misfortune to Islam could never have fallen if either of the two claimants to the Khilafat were divinely inspired or guided even in the Orthodox or what to say of the Shia sense.

My contention therefore is that the office of the Caliph held by Hazrat Omar, Osman, Ali, Hasan and Muaviyah does not correspond to the caliphal office as enunciated in the above verse of the holy Book. If at all any one fits in the verse above quoted it is only Hazrat Abu Bakr who fought those Muslims who wanted to change Islam by dropping zakat, those insurgents who had attacked the established central and provincial govts. and committed rape, loot and arson and also the false prophets from amongst the Christians and pagans. The role of Abu Bakr is the role of one who changed the current of history by diverting the flood gates of Arab energy and enthusiasm towards world conquest and greater glory of their faith and mother-land. The role played by Osman and Ali and Muaviyah is the role of the head of the state who ruled according to set customs, regulations and laws laid down during the time of the Prophet and then as envisaged later by the Ijtehad of the governing authorities and departments and the heads of the State and primarily the first Caliph *i.e.* Abu Bakr.

The fact that the Caliph being the political head of Islam adopted policies which later shook the very foundations of the Islamic State to prove that it was not a divine-guidance Government as was the one under the Holy Prophet. Under the first and second caliphs and more specially under the said systematically the jobs of Walis,

Generals, Qazis and Diwans etc. etc. were given only to the Arabs, more specially to the Meccans: Quraish the principal recipients of honour among whom were the Banu Omayya (12 govr. in the 1st or 2nd Caliphs). Thus the Quresh became a favoured class in the Islamic administration and their roots went deep into the soil of Egypt., Syria, Kufa and Basra. Therefore they started behaving like dynasts. This was the real cause of the insurgence of rebellions and outbreak of disaffeetion in the time of Hazrat Osman when the younger generation of Quraish became all powerfull in the State and the Neo-Muslim Arabs and other classes started disputing (their) the right of the Meccan Arab Muslim nobility to hold a monoply in state services, administration and also in the profits of the government. The fault of Osman was the fault of Omar in seating dynasts in distant Egypt, Syria and Iraq who could not have been mended by the plain words and religious admoni tions of an old Khalifa of 82 years of age.

The Khutba of Hazrat Abu Bakr clearly brings this fact into prominence that the Caliph was elected just as a tribal Shaikh used to be elected in pre-Islamic times. (Excerpts from Sermon of Hazrat Abu Bakr). The following remarks of Hazrat Osman :- مرے پاس صرف خمس اتاہے اور اسمین سے بھی میرے لئے کچھ لینا جائز نہں - مسلمانوں نے اسکو مرے مشورہ کے بغیر مستحقین میں صرف کیا p. 218 خلفائے راشدین also brings to mind the fact that small committees of powerful people were entrusted with important jobs in which the Committee had final say.

There is yet another reference from Muaviyah who offered to create a council of advisors with powers of veto, to guide and control the administration of the Islamic State and supervise finance, revenue and higher appointments with full discretionary powers under Yazid if at all people consented to the scheme of Amir Muaviyah (Tisbari Vol. 7, pages 656/657.)

All these facts of history prove that the aura of religious sanctity behind the office of caliphate was yet to be propounded in the first century of Islam and that the Caliphs held authority

because of their eminance in the religo-social order of Islam by public consent and not by any Religious sanction or decree.

Therefore it comes to this that the caliphal system of government is the government of law and virtue run under the Islamic socio-economic cum legal system directed by a caliph at the head with the constant aid and مشورت *i. e.* شوره ريت guidance of a council of advisors composed of gentlemen who were equal in virtue and position to the Caliph if not superior to him, and a larger Senate composed of the اهل الرائے. The Diwan, the Register of the allowances, the Army Register, the department of Kheraj and the Judiciary were all run by people of superior calibre who however owed their appointment to the discretion of the Caliph.

It now remains for us to analyze the Ommayyad and the Abbasid dynasties in the light of the above inferences.

It has been hinted above that the rejection of the offer of Amir Muaviyah by the elders of Islam to form an Advisory Council or Magnum Regis Concilium proved the starting point of the decay of the Caliphate and the Islamic State and its later deterioration into typical monarchical order of the East.

Amir Muaviyah had been in Syria since the days of the first Caliph and holding authority over entire :Syria and Palestine from the days of Hazrat Omar. Syria was the seat of Greeko-Roman culture, besides Syrian Arabs had largely been converted to Christianity, naturally the dynasty of Syria would mould himself into a satrap of the Greeko-Roman type and with his accumen for government and intelligence and statesmanship try to create for himself a position of strength in his Mesne-land if Syria could be called one for Amir Muaviyah. Amir Muawaiyah married a Christian wife, kept a Christian Court physician and a Christian chancellor of the exchequer. He can be compared to king Rodgers of Sicily who kept an Arab physician, an Arab chancellor and an Arab Court. Hazrat Ali gave a cause to Amir Muaviyah to rebel against the Central authority when he issued orders for the

recall of the great satrap. Using the tactics of a Roman General and placating the Syrians who hoped to revive their own lost domination over Arabia and Iraq, Muaviyah emerged as the Strong-man of Islam. After conquering the entire Islamic empire by alliances, intrigues and the timely death of Malik Ushar and the martyrdom of Hazrat Ali, Amir Muaviyah entered upon the task of creating an Arab version of the Byzantine *i. e.* Greeko-Roman monarchy. The monarchy later on degenerated into a tyranny and ultimately fell to the onslaughts of the Neo-Persian insurgence movement formed by the Alids and the Abbasids in unision. The semi-Arab but in reality the Neo-Persian imperialism of the Abbasides did neither retain the ethical virtues of the desert nor its sturdy independence of character and finally lost itself into the hands of the Tartars and Neo-Muslim Turks who hastened the ultimate decline and fall of the Abbaside caliphate.

This survey of the caliphate system in Islam has been undertaken to inspire historian and the political scientist to make a re-appraisal of the old dogmatic beliefs about the institution of the Caliphate and to break newer grounds in search of new material in this vast if not virgin field.

Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan

By

Agha K. Haider, Mirpur Khas

The inspiring leadership and encouraging patronage of Akbar the Great produced some men of great celebrity and renown. Perhaps the most notable among them was Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan who being gifted with varied excellent qualities, rose to a very eminent position. He was a capable general whose military genius, many a time, shone forth in all its brilliance. His diplomatic skill was marvellous, bewildering and incomprehensible to many. Besides, he was a scholar of great repute whose intellectual vigour made him one of the first minds of the age.

It is an unfortunate circumstance that of the two sources—history and panegyrical odes—which could have helped us in writing the biography of this great noble, one throws only a dim light on his life and the other is not reliable. The Mughal historians do not attach much importance to the political luminaries of any period. They simply cast a side glance at them, their attention being concentrated on the personality of the King himself. While the object of the panegyrical odes being to tickle the human vanity in order to induce it to part with some money, they do not admit of the statement of hard facts.[1]

No doubt Mohammed Abdul Baki has written a work entitled "The Maasir-e-Rahimi" in which he has devoted much of space and labour to Khan Khanan's life but it loses much of its weight by the mere fact of the author being a person who has basked in the continuous sunshine of his favour and repaid undoubtedly his benefactor by singing hymn in his praise. Of this work Sir H. M. Elliot says :—

"A great portion of the work is devoted to an ample detail of the transactions of his patron, the Khan Khanan, his sons and

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1 See *Qasaid-i-Urfi*, odes on Khan Khanan.

progenitors, who though certainly was of sufficient eminence to deserve a full biography, it is here written as usual under such circumstances, in so fulsome a strain of eulogy that it is difficult to know what to put in it."[1]

Anyhow an attempt has been made in this article to give a critical account of the life and achievements of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan.

Born on December 17, 1556 at Lahore, he was only four years of age when his father Bairam Khan, Khan Khanan, was assassinated at Pallan in Gujarat. Narrowly did his mother and her attendants, Mohamed Amin Diwana and Baba Zambur, escape alive with the child. Hotly pursued by the Afghans, they fled to Ahmedabad and thence to Agra. In obedience to an imperial summons the boy was presented at the court in 1562, taken under royal protection and given a varied and splendid education. He became master of Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Surprisingly enough he made a deep study of Sanskrit and Hindi. It must be ascribed to his thirst for knowledge and to the tolerant spirit which reached its climax during the reign of Akbar.

Due to his profound scholarship Abdur Rahim was appointed guardian to Prince Salim in 1582.

In 1590 he rendered remarkable service to the cause of historical scholarship by translating Babur's memoirs into Persian.

Abdur Rahim married Mah Bano, the sister of Mirza Aziz Kokab. He had four sons—Mirza Iraj, Mirza Daras Khan, Mirza Rahman Dad and Mirza Amrullah—whom he outlived. He also had a daughter named Janan Begam who was married to Prince Danyal.

He, was, above all, a man of action. Like his father, he was an excellent fighter and a brave warrior. Since his early youth he

1 History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. VI, p. 237.

exhibited much of valour and courage. At the tender age of sixteen he is found in company with Akbar when that illustrious monarch, having paid his visit to the shrine of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, invaded Gujerat in 1573 to crush the rebellion of Ikhtiarul Mulk. There he had so far won the confidence of the Emperor as to have been honoured with the command of the centre which was the place of the veteran generals. Since then he rose in Akbar's estimation who granted him rapid promotions and sent him at the head of several military expeditions.

In 1576 Abdur Rahim was entrusted with the government of Ahmedabad which had been a centre of rebellion and revolt.

In 1579 he joined Shahbaz Khan when the imperial forces attacked the territory of the Rana of Mewar.

In 1581 he was honoured with the office of Arz Baigi at the Court. In the same year reports of serious disturbances reached from Ajmer. The Emperor deputed him to establish peace and order in the region.

The suppression of a formidable revolt in Gujerat was a great achievement of Abdur Rahim. He was successful in crushing the strong opposition of Muzaffar Khan Gujerati who had earlier defeated several Mughal generals. The military genius of Abdur Rahim impressed the emperor who promoted him to the high mansab of 5,000 and conferred on him grand title of Khan Khanan.

The next important expedition led by him was against Sind and Baluchistan which were annexed in 1590-91 A.D.

Akbar proposed that he should follow up his conquests of Sind and Baluchistan by an attack on Qandhar but fortune forestalled the Mughals.

He played a significant part in the Deccan campaigns of Akbar. The imperial forces under the joint command of Abdur Rahim and Prince Murad were besieged Ahmednagar in 1595 and

forced the valiant Chand Bibi to cede Berar to the Mughals. In 1599 when Murad died he continued the imperial campaigns. In 1600 Ahmednagar was stormed and greater part of the state was occupied by the Mughals and Prince Daniyal was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan to govern the three newly conquered provinces, Berar, Ahmednagar and Khandesh under the guidance of Khan Khanan.

During the latter half of Akber's reign he rose to a position of high eminance. But fortune seems to have deserted him during the reign of Jahangir.

Khan Khanan joined Khusro in his revolt against the Emperor. When the rebellion was crushed, barbarous punishments were meted out to his followers. Khan Khanan was sewn in the fresh skin of an ass and paraded through the streets of Lahore. His situation was stealthily eased by his powerful courtier friends. After an intense suffering of 24 hours he was pardoned and restored to his old dignities.

When Jehangir directed his attention toward the conquest of the Deccan, Khan Khanan undertook to subdue the Nizam Shahis. But the war operations were much hampered as his officers did not pull well with each other. They indulged in bitter mutual criminations and recriminations. Under such state of affairs Khan Khanan suffered defeat at the hands of Malik Amber.

The intrigues of his colleagues brought him into disgrace. But their failure to achieve any thing of consequence, restored[1] him into royal favour and once more Jehangir invested him in 1612 with the supreme command of the Deccan, promoted him to the rank of 6000 and raised his sons to high mansabs. Khan Khanan partially retrieved the prestige of the Mughal arms. He continued the supreme command till 1616 and acquitted himself with credit. Then Nur Jehan Junta recalled him and placed Khurram in charge of the Deccan.

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[1] Translation of Ferishta by A. Dow.

Shah Jehan having controlled the Deccan situation Khan Khanan was appointed governor of Berar, Khandesh and Ahmednagar. In fact Shah Jehan had only followed up the success of Khan Khanan with a temporary truce.

He supported Shah Jehan in his attitude of defiance against Nur Jehan. He sided with the prince when he revolted against the central authority. But ultimately he had to surrender to Mahabat Khan who placed him under serveillance. The emperor had the generosity and wisdom to forgive and console his old tutor and guardian. He was not only confirmed in his rank and title but also given a lakh of rupees and the jagir of Malkusab.

The Khan Khanan is said to have engraved on his ring the following verse :—

By the help of God, the kindness of Jehangir

Has twice given me life and twice the Khan Khani.

Khan Khanan did not live long to enjoy the blessings of a happy life. He died in 1627 at the age of 72 and at the close of the 21st year of Jehangir's reign, leaving behind him a name as a warrior, a statesman and a scholar renowned for his charity.

A vigorous prose writer and a facile versifier, Abdur Rahim perpetuated his name in contemporary literature. His Persian verses flow with natural ease and sparkle with wit and humour. As a patron of literature he stands at the head of the Mughal nobles. The *Moasir-e-Rahimi* has preserved the biographies and specimens of the compositions of some thirty Persian versifiers who formed shelter with him.

His rank in the domain of literature may have secured immortality for his effusions in Arabic, Persian and Turkish—the languages then in fashion—and a large number of copies of them may have been in existence but those in Indian languages could appeal to only a few patriotic Hindus and their circulation being confined to a very narrow sphere, few copies, if at all, should have existed. These were perhaps lost and only such stray coup-

lets as were handed down verbally or taken down in the note books were preserved. The present revival of learning in India prompted a lover of Hindi Mr. Suryanarain Tripathi to put together as many of Rahim's verses as he could and we are indebted to his zeal and labour for collecting a hundred couplets or so which he calls collectively "Rahiman Shatak" (Hundred couplets of Rahim). The book is printed and published by Mr. Vinklishwar at Steam Press, Bombay.

Mr. Saleem Jaffer has rendered a useful service by translating the "Rahiman Shatak" into English along with a summary of the contents of the book.

In Hindi poetry, Abdur Rahim is ranked with the poets of order to which Behari Lal belongs[1] as will be seen from the fact that a couplet of the highest value from the point of view of lyrics, after first being ascribed to Behari Lal was given to him when it was ascertained that works of the former did not contain it, on the simple ground that such a sublime theme could be conceived by no other than a poet of Rahim's standing

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1 Sur Das had many successors, the most famous of whom was Biharilal of Jaipur, whose Salaiya or collection of seven hundred detached verses, is one of the daintiest piece of art in any Indian Language......Nevertheless each verse was a complete picture in itself, a miniature description of a mood or phase of nature, in which every touch of the brush is exactly the needed one and not one is superfluous .....Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. II, Chapter XI, p. 423.

Generosity of Sultan Gyasuddin Azam Shah of Bengal

By

Prof. Md. Nurul Karim, Dacca

The name of Sultan Gyasuddin Azam Shah (1389—1409) [1] is well known all over in East Pakistan as justice incarnate and the story narrated by Gulam Husain[2] in his *Rayazus-Salatin* about the Sultan's submission to the judgment of his Kazi Siraj-uddin is frequently talked of as an ideal instance of piety and justice.

It may look strange to some [3] to find such a story told about one who was guilty of cruelty and injustice towards his own flesh and blood. But one acquainted with the circumstances of his life may not hold any such adverse opinion about the Sultan. According to Gulam Husain, Sultan Gyasuddin's father Sultan Sikandar Shah I, had seventeen sons by his first wife and Gyasuddin was the only son of his second wife.[4] In the estimation of his father[5] Gyasuddin was the fittest of all to rule over his kingdom after him. But his step mother was seeking destruction by poisoning the mind of his father. His father, however, did not listen to her, on the other hand, he earmarked him to be his future successor. Still Gyasuddin never felt secure at the capital city of Pandua[6]. He 'suspected always the wiles and stratagems' of his step mother and so he escaped to Sonargaon, where he raised the standard of revolt, demanding the throne from his father. At the news of his son's revolt Sultan Sikandar Shah got ready with his army

1 History of Bengal—Dacca University Publication, 1948, Vol. II. 1948.
2 *Riyazus-Salatin*—Trans. A. Salam, A. S. B., Calcutta, 1902, p. 110.
3 F. B. Bradley Birt—Dacca, the Romance of an Eastern Capital, p. 55.
4 *Riyazus-Salatin*—Trans. A. Salam, p. 106.
5 Do. Do. Do. p. 107.
6 In Malda district.

and mobilised it for the suppression of his son. Both the father and the son met at Goalpara[1] and in spite of Gyasuddin's utmost care and instruction to his soldiers for the security of the life of his father, Sikandar Shah fell fatally wounded on the battle ground. Gyasuddin became overwhelmed with grief and remorse, and "tears tricked down his cheek"; he requested his dying father to forgive him and also to express his desire so that he might fulfil it. The dying father forgave him and wished him all success as his successor on the throne of Bengal[2].

It is also narrated by Gulam Husain that after the death of his father Gyasuddin rode forward towards Pandua and ascended the throne and blinded his step brothers. This might have been done in order to ensure his future safety against the possible machinations of his step brothers. In view of all the measures taken up by Gyasuddin for the occupation of the throne and for his future safety, it cannot be conjectured that cruelty was inherent in his very nature or that he could not be just. Such stories of cruelty in self defence do not carry any reproach and are told about many great historical personalities of the world. Even saintly king like Asoka of the ancient world was not immune from such acts of cruelty for defence and vindication of his own cause.

After the assumption of royalty, Gyasuddin did run the administration of Bengal as a just[3], efficient, pious,[4] benevolent and generous Sultan. Apart from the story of the justice of Kazi Sirajuddin there are also records of his big donations to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina which were the true indices of his religious mind.

The story of the Sultan's donations to Mecca and Medina is narrated by Mufti *Kutbuddin Md.-bin-Ahmad, Naharwali* of Gujrat in his *Tarikhe Mecca* and subsequently repeated by

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1 Jafarganj in Dacca district—(Dr. Wise) I. A. S., 1874, p. 85.

2 *Riyazus-Salaṭin*—Trans. A. Salam, p. 108.

3 Dr. D. Chandra Sen—Brihat Banga, Vol. II, p. 621.

4 R D. Bandopadhya—Banglar Itihash, Vol. II. p. 152.

Syed Abdul Hye in his *Nujhatul Khawatir*, Vol. II, (Dairatul Ma'arif, Osmania, pp. 102-103). This big donation not only speaks of the religiosity and generosity of the Sultan but also give us a clear clue to the resources of the country and the abundance of wealth of the Sultan.

It is said that Sultan Gyasuddin had sent his servant Yakut Geyasi to Mecca and Medina with a huge sum of money for distribution among the people of these places and also for the establishment of an educational institution and a *Musafir Khana* in Mecca. He was also instructed to purchase properties there from the income of which the educational institution in Mecca could be maintained. Yakut reached Mecca and saw the Amir or ruler of Mecca, Syed Hasan-Ibn-Ajlan with presents from Sultan Gyasuddin. Hasan accepted one third of this present for himself and his family, spent one third among the learned and the rest he distributed among the poor. He gave permission to Yakut to do all that was desired by the Sultan and gave every assurance of his help.

Yakut accordingly purchased at Mecca two houses near *Umme Hane*[1] *gate* of Mecca, one meant for an educational institution and the other for purpose of a *Musafir Khana* and immediately gave the start to both. For the maintenance of the educational institution Yakut also purchased four wells and two groves of palm trees at Rokana (in Mecca) and dedicated these as wakf in the name of the institution. There were four learned scholars and sixty students in this institution. The expenses of whom met out of the income of these *wakf* properties.

Yakut also purchased a house (at 500 Mithka[2] of gold) opposite to the educational institution and dedicated it as wakf in the name of the *Musafir Khana*. For all these which Yakut had purchased at Mecca, he had to pay (about 12000 gold Mithkal) to the ruler of Mecca.

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[1] *Umme Hane* was the sister of Hazrat 'Ali.

[2] One Mithka = 1½ dirham = Six annas. 500 Mithkal (مثقال) = Rs. 187-8.

Sultan Gyasuddin also spent a huge amount for the repair of the Hauz or (reservoir of water) of Arafat. He did it at a cost of about 30,000 Mithkal of gold=Rs. 11,250/-. The Sherif of Mecca engaged a man to look after the management of the water supply in *'Arafaat* and other places of Mecca out of the money sent by Sultan Gyas for the repair of the Hauz of 'Arafat.

It is said that Khan Jahan [1] the minister of the Sultan Gyasuddin according to whose instructions the Sultan had spent so much in Mecca had also sent one Hazi Iqbal with a sum out of his own pocket for the establishment of an educational institution and a *Musafir Khana* in Medina as was done by Sultan Gyas in Mecca. He had also sent presents to the Amir of Medina, Zamazul Husaini (جماز الحسینی). Unfortunately the ship carrying his gift was lost near Jiddah. From this account of the expenditure of Sultan Gyasuddin in Mecca and Medina, we can very well guess all about the nature of the Sultan and the richness of his kingdom. His mild and just administration, proper regulation of trade and industry, peace and order, were conducive to the increase of wealth of the country as was also noticed by Mahuan, the interpreter to the Chinese Emperor[2]. Mahuan noticed the flourishing condition of industry, trade and commerce of the country. He speaks very highly of the varieties of fine cotton fabrics and ocean going ships carrying goods to foreign countries, which were produced in Bengal[3].

Gulam Husain is silent over these humanitarian acts of the Sultan in the holy cities. This might be due to his lack of information or lack of his knowledge of the relevant sources. But he narrates another story which is a clear testimony to his generosity for learning and men of learning. This story is as popular as the tradition of the judgment of Kazi Sirajuddin. It is said that he once invited to his capital at Sanargaon Hafiz[4], the eminent poet

1 Syed Abdul Hye—*Nujhatul Khawatir*, Vol. II, p. 102.
2 History of Bengal—Daccā University, Vol.:II, pp. 118-119.
3 Do. Do. Do.
4 *Riyaz us Salatin ; Dewane Hafiz.*

of Shiraz and had sent him as gift some of the exquisite *muslins* for which his capital was then famous.[1]

It is said that Hafiz was invited at Sonargaon during the life time of Sikandar Shah I when Gyasuddin declared his independence.[2] The poet deeply appreciated the invitation of the Sultan but did not like to part with the pleasant delights of Shiraj. Besides, the prospect of a voyage through the Indian ocean scared away the poet. He however sent an Ode to the Sultan which is to be found in the poet's Diwan. Riyaz cites an interesting incident which was an occasion for sending the invitation to the poet the authenticity of which is doubted by many.[3]

It is very difficult to say how long Sultan Gyasuddin lived at Sonargaon after his occupation of Pandua Capital. It seems, though, he lived mostly in Pandua, he did not leave association with Sonargaon, the home of his independence and the nursery of his ambition. He probably died here and here still stands his great mausoleum and tomb at Shah Chillapur village in beautifully curved stone. The Arabic sources mentioned above[4] give indication of the Sultan's connection with Sonargaon and Ekdala which was then in a prosperous condition. Ekadala[5] is in Sonargaon. "In the northern part of Sonargaon there is a place called Doorduria in Kapasia thana. In this place there is a fort called Ekdala, situated on the bend of the Banar river. It is built in a semi-circular form with a circumference of about two miles with intervening moats. It is known as *Ranibari*; because according to tradition some Rani of the Pala dynansty used to reside

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1 Bradley Birt—Dacca, the Romance of an Eastern Capital, p. 57.

2 R. D. Banerjee - Banglar Itihash, Vol. II, p. 152.

3 Prof. Mahfuzul Haq.

4 S. M. Taifoor—Glimpses of Old Dacca, p. 3.

5 Mufti Kutubuddin Md. Bin Ahmad, Naharwali; History of Mecca; Syed Abdul Hye's Nujhatul Khawatir, pp. 102-103.

6 There is another Ekdala in the modern Dinajpur district with an area of 25 miles as identified by Mr. Stapleton, vide Note History of Bengal, Dacca University, Vol. II, p. 107.

here when the Turks occupied it".[1] We have reason to believe that Gyasuddin when raised the standard of revolt in Sonargaon against his father had taken his stand in this defensive place which by his subsequent association and attraction became an important place so much so that it came to stand for Sonargaon.

Sultan Gyasuddin was a student and disciple of the renowned scholar Hammiddun Ahmad-Al-Husaini-Al-Nagori, the life achievement of whom is to be found in the account of Shah Abdul Haque Muhaddese Dehlavi in his *Akhbarul Akhyar*. The Sultan died at Sonargaon at about 813 H.[2]

1 S. M. Taifoor—Glimpses of Old Dacca, p. 2.
2 History of Bengal, Vol. II, Dacca University, p. 116.

Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Nationalism

By

Sharif-al-Mujahid, Karachi.

Much is known and has been written about Afghani, the Pan-Islamist. His role as a nationalist, though not any less important or ineffective, is however, comparatively unknown.

Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani worked in two spheres and at two levels: he advocated both local nationalisms and Pan-Islamism. Pan-Islamism was the all-pervading sphere; nationalism, the regional one. Iqbal could have as well got the cue from Afghani when he advocates, in his *Reconstruction*, that each of the individual Muslim nations "should sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a family of republics."

The situation Afghani faced called for such an approach. Pax Islamica should, of course, be the ultimate goal, but regional emancipation should not be ignored either, if that way the Muslim peoples, in various parts of the world, could energize themselves, and could come into their own, as preparatory to taking their due place in the Pax Islamica of Afghani's dreams. In fact, such emancipation on their part in itself would be a positive contribution towards strengthening the Muslim world and in reaching it to its ultimate goal.

Such should have been the logic which persuaded Afghani to encourage and strengthen all those factors, besides the religious one, which account for national consciousness, solidarity, progress. He, thus, came to put a premium on racial and linguistic ties, and, in doing so, gave his blessings, perhaps a little unconsciously, to nationalism, especially in the Arab World.

The factors lending themselves to the nationalism are two : (1) the consciousness of solidarity on the basis of certain common characteristics such as language, customs, traditions, memories, real or imaginary ancestary ; and (2) the will to work together for the achievement of a common goal to which all subscribe and for which all are willing to sacrifice something or everything. Now, in the Arab world, according to Hitti, Nuseibah, Antonius, Hourani and others, nationalism arose on a three-tier base, *viz.*, (1) revived interest in the Arabic classics and research in Islamic history ; (2) a renewed consciousness in the past glory of the Muslim empire and of the brilliant cultural achievements (which suggested a future possibility) ; (3) a passion for political activity manifesting itself in growing resistanc to the West.

The part Afghani played in bringing all these forces into operation cannot be gainsaid. For that matter, at least in Egypt, he was the first to turn the attention of the Azharite professors and students to Arabic literary and cultural heritage and to inculcate in them a passion for research as well as pride in their past achievements. Afghani also encouraged his pupils to take to journalism, and he himself founded a paper to popularise his teachings.

In this connection, Afghani's views on racial affinity and linguistic unity call for serious notice. To him, a common language is an unfailing bond, in fact "the very soul of a nation." In his rejoinder to Renan on the latter's discourse on "Islam and Science" which led to a long controversy in Paris in the 1880, Afghani insists that the Harranians were Arabs, that the Arabs occupying Spain did not lose their nationality and continued to remain Arabs. "The fact that the Harranians kept their ancient religion, *viz.*, Sabeanism," he says, "should not cause them to be considered as non-Arabs. The Syrian priests," he adds, "were also for the most part Ghassanid Arabs converted to Christianity. As for Ibn Bajjah, Ibn Rushd and Ibn Tufail, we cannot say that they were not Arabs like al-Kindi, for the simple reason that they were not born in Arabia, especially if we use the language criterion."

In thus emphasising these twin factors of race and language besides inculcating a legitimate pride and interest in the Arab cultural and literary heritage, Afghani could be said to have virtually laid the foundation of what in recent decades has increasingly come to be known as Pan-Arabism. For, if, according to Afghani, the Harranians did not cease to be Arabs by their retention of Sabeanism nor the Syrian priests by their conversion to christianity, nor even Ibn Bajjah, Ibn Rushd and Ibn Tufail by being born in non-Arab countries, surely Christian Lebanon, on the basis of both language and race, and the other North African mixed Arab-Berber peoples, primarily on the linguistic basis, along with the other Arab nations of the Middle East and North Africa, constitute one supra-nationality. And today, this constitutes the *raison d'etre* of Arab nationalism, and the most basic theme of pan-Arabism.

It is interesting to note that Afghani stood for the participation of local non-Muslims in the national movements for freedom. In Egypt, for instance, he endeavoured to win the support of the non-Muslim Egyptians for his political reforms, and took James Sana, an Egyptian Jew and the editor of Abu Nazara, into his confidence. Even after Afghani had wholesouledly embraced the pan-Islamic ideology, he once wrote in the *al-Urawah al-Uthqa*, that although the paper concentrated on Muslim problems and rights, yet it did not differentiate between Muslim and their non-Muslim compatriots..."Our aim is not to cause them to fight each other...Our aim is to warn the Muslims in particular and masses of the East in general of the encroachments of foreigners and their aggression against their countries. Emphasis is sometimes laid on Muslims because currently they are the victims of such aggression", he added.

The reference to Western encroachments and aggression in the remarks quoted above should be underlined, for it provides the key to Afghani's thinking and his attitude.

How this tide of Western infiltration could be swept back—had been his constant headache, and he devised appeals to the

subjugated or threatened peoples in such a way as to elicit the most effective response. The same reason should have determined the tone, tenor and theme of the speech he, for instance, delivered at Madrasah-i-Aliyah in Calcutta, in 1882. Here he recalled to them not the greatness of the once glorious Muslim Empire or the achievements of the Arabs or the Muslims, but the glory that was India. And this because Afghani was much too shrewd not to realize that the British power in India could be subverted but through Hindu-Muslim co-operation, through an appeal to the glorious past of India, as distinct from the Islamic past, either in India or elsewhere.

Not only through preaching and propagation, but also through his activities, Afghani helped a great deal in the growth of nationalism wherever he visited. In Egypt, for instance, he founded the first political party in the country, *viz.*, al-Hizb al-Watani. Though Arabi Pasha himself did not come in direct contact with Afghani, he was yet influenced a great deal through his disciples in Egypt. Mustafa Kamil Pasha (d. 1908), the radical nationalist leader and the founder of fire-eating al-Liwa was likewise influenced by Afghani through his close associate, Sayyid Abd Allah al-Nadim, when Kamil founded the " Nationalist Party " with the most telling appeal, " Egypt for Egyptian " nailed to its masthead, he claimed it to be the successor of Afghani's al-Hizb al-Watani. Sa'ad Zaghlul Pasha who became distinguished in Egyptian political life in the first quarter of the present century was also influenced by Jamal directly and through Muhammad Abduh.

So that it is not too much to say with Lothrop Stoddard that Afghani " is the father of every shade of Egyptian nationalism".

Nor could his influence in the Mahdi movement in the Sudan denied or underrated. The close proximity of the fall of the Arabi's movement in Egypt and the rise of the Mahdi's in the Sudan, and, also, of the two countries geographically makes the

latter look like a chain reaction to what had happened in Egypt. Besides, several of Afghani's pupils were Mahdi's colleagues; he himself was reportedly in correspondence with the Mahdi; it is even probable that Afghani might even have encouraged the Mahdi in his defiant attitude. In any case, when the British deemed it necessary to come to a settlement with the Mahdi, it was Afghani that they approached.

In Iran, likewise, Afghani stirred up national consciousness and mobilised public opinion against foreign intervention and autocracy. In fact, the Persian constitutional movement can be traced to the agitation against the Tobacco Monopoly in 1891, primarily engineered by Afghani and his disciples.

Afghani's influence over the young Turkish nationalists and constitutionalists was considerable although he was the Sultan's guest. Zia Gokalp, the Turkish intellectual who laid the philosophical foundations of Turkish nationlism, finds, according to his own admission, another source of Turkish nationalism in Afghani's movement. Afghani it was that inspired Mehmet Emin to attempt patriotic poems, including the one which begins with the line ; "I am a Turk, my religion and my race are noble." Furthermore, Afghani turned Emin from a *Lehce-i Usmani* poet into a popular Turkish one, exploiting the various events and anecdotes in the annals of Turkish history to build up Turkish morale and nationalism.

It is also interesting to note that most of his disciples turned out to be staunch nationalists. His disciple, Adio Ishaq, for instance, was according to Hitti, the first person to use the word wataniyah for "patriotism" which word has since then begun to figure prominently in Arabic literature. He also treated such kindred subjects as *Watan* (Homeland), and ummah (in the sense of a nation). Abdul Rahman al-Kawakebi who is usually considered the father of Pan-Arabism has, even as George Antonius acknowledges, points of contact with Afghani. It is not without significance that the scheme al-Kawakebi enunciated in his book

Umma al-Qura was largely similar to the one that Afghani had laid down when he formed a secret society bearing the same name in Mecca, but which was later suppressed by Sultan Abdul Hamid.

Besides, a great deal of other evidence also bears out our thesis that Afghani, though reputedly the prophet of pan-Islamism, had yet encouraged, in fact personally strengthened local nationalism. This strange admixture of pan-Islamism with nationalism resulted in what Stoddard calls "Islamic nationalism", and it is to this somewhat suspicious flitrations of pan-Islamism with nationalism (which is yet to find consummation in a happy marriage) that Prof. Gibb makes a reference in his *Modern Trends in Islam* when he says that even pan-Islamism has been leavened by nationalism since Afghani's times.

One may, therefore, not find it difficult to agree with Hans Kohn that Afghani, though usually hailed as the prophet and philosopher of pan-Islamism, is nonetheless "the father of all subsequent renaissance............ and nationalistic movements in Egypt and in the Moslem East."

Genesis of the name Shalamar Gardens (Lahore)

By

M. Shamsud Din, Lahore.

The Mughal monarchs were very fond of *Gardens* which served as a place of recreation, repose and blissful quiet atmosphere. Bernier tells us in his Travels (p. 82) that even temporary encampments gave the outlook of a garden. The pitching of King's tent corresponded to the symmetry of the whole camp.

The Shalamar Gardens at Lahore had 3 terraces when they were designed in the time of Shah Jahan in 1052 A.H. (1642 A.D.) The garden and its buildings were completed in one year, 5 months and four days. This period is mentioned by both the contemporary historians *i.e.* Abdul Hamid Lahori[1] and by Muhammad Salih Kamboh.[2]

Both the historians tell us that the highest terrace of the garden was known as Farah Bakhsh, while the remaining *two* terraces were known as Faiz Bakhsh.

Abdul Hamid Lahori gives a long description of this garden on the occasion of the first visit of Emperor Shah Jahan (7th Sha'ban 1052 A.H. corresponding to October 31st, 1642 A.D), but one sentence is significant :—

" این باغ دلنشین نشاط افزا مشتمل است برسه طبقه - طبقهٔ علیا را بفرح بخش
و وسطی را با مرتبهٔ پایان که حکم یک درجه دارد ' بفیض بخش موسوم ساختند - "

Farah Bakhsh denotes "pleasure", while Faiz - Bakhsh means 'plenty - giving'.

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1 Badshah Namah : Abdul Hamid Lahori, p. 311 .

2 Aml-e-Salih or Shah Jahan Nahmah : Mohammad Salih Kamboh, p. 373.

Muhammad Salih Kamboh corraborates this by writing as follows :—

" طبقهٔ بالا را بفرح بخش و طبقهٔ میانه را که با مرتبهٔ پایان حکم یک درجه دارد بفیض بخش موسوم ساخته اند " ـ[1]

On the same page he writes :—

" عمارت باغ فیض بخش باهتمام خلیل‌الله خان ، حسن انجام گرفته زینت افزائے هندوستان شده از تاریخ بنا ، تا این روز یک سال و پنج ماه ، چهار روز منقض گشته بود ، هفتم ماه مذکور (شعبان ۱۰۵۲ ھ) در ساعت سعید به یمن قدوم میمنت لزوم غیرت بهشت برین گردید " [2]

Both the historians (who are contemporary writers) tell us that the gardens in question were laid out as a place of recreation for the Royal family, so that whenever the monarch is present at Lahore :-

" احتیاج بخیمه نمی شود " [3]

(the pitching of tents is not necessary).

The two names Farah Bakhsh and Faiz Bakhsh were retaind and used down to the times of Shah Alam, the successor of Aurangzeb because Muhammad Saqi Musta'id Khan in Ma'asar-i-Alamgiri[4] gives the same names for the upper and central terraces.

The present name *Shalamar* is used for the first time by Sujan Rae Batalvi, a contemporary of Aurangzeb, in his book Khulasa-tut-Twarikh when he writes :—

(1) اگرچه در حواشیٔ شهر فراوان باغ دلکشا و هزاران گلشن فرحت افزا است اما باغ شالامار که حضرت شاهجهان بادشاه تقلید باغ کشمیر احداث فرموده اند ، دل فریب نظار گیان است " ـ [5]

It is evident that the gardens at Lahore had the style of the Shalamar garden at Kashmir.

It cannot be ascertained how and when the present name "Shalamar" got affixed to the gardens at Lahore, but it is obvious

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1 Aml-e-Salih : Muhammad Salih Kamboh p. 373.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Badshah Namah : A. Hamid Lahori, p. 315 and M. Salih Kamboh : Aml-e-Salih, p. 376.

4 M'aasari-i-Alamgiri : Muhammad Saqi Musta'id Khan, p. 70.

5 Khulasa-tut-Twarikh : Sujan Rae Batalvi, p. 66.

from the above statement of Sujan Rae that the name of the Kashmir garden crept to the Lahore garden due to similarity of plan.

During the 18th century the world "Shalamar" became common and the original names Farah Bakhsh and Faiz Bakhsh, fell into disuse—but why and how—is not clearly known to us.

Wheeler thinks [1] that the correct name is Shalimar (Abode of Bliss) and is derived from a Sanskrit word (Shalimar).

S. M. Latif in his famous History of Lahore[2] retains the same word *i.e.* Shalimar.

Moulvi Nur Ahmad Chishti has given numerous possible derivations of this name in his book Tahqiqat-i-Chishti [3]

(1) Firstly he thinks that the actual name which got transformed was Shula Bagh (شہلا باغ) or "Beautiful Garden".

(2) A second possible derivation of the name is (شعلۂ ماہ) or "flame of the Moon."

(3) Some people, says Moulvi Nur Ahmad, consider it to be سالہ ماہ and connect سالہ with a Sanskirat word meaning "house".

(4) Finally Moulvi Nur Ahmad Chishti, gives an interesting legend reported by some people. A king of Kashmir was in quest of a site for a stylish garden. When he selected a place, a hound pounced upon a jackal. The place came to be known as *Shalamar* because in Kashmiri language the word "Shala" means a jackal and "Mar" is a hound.

Dr. Ghulam Mohyud Din Sufi in his book Kashir,[4] reproduces an ancient legend that Pravarsena II, the founder of Sri-

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1 Five Thousand years of Pakistan : Wheeler, p. 87.

2 History of Lahore : S. M. Latif, p. 142.

3 Tahqiqat-i-Chisti : M. Nur Ahmad pp. 708-09.

4 Kashir : Dr. G. M. Din Sufi, page 829, Vol. II.

nagar, ordered a stately garden and a villa on the edge of the lake. He called it *Shalamara* which in Sanskrit means "Hall or abode of Love". According to him the word "Maria" refers to "God of Love" and "Cala or Shala" means "abode".

In the time of Ranjit Singh, one of his courtiers made a conjecture that the word "Shala" is of Punjabi origin and is a word denoting a form of Prayer *e.g.*

" شالا جوانیاں مانے - آکھانہ سوریں پی لے "

(May you enjoy your youth do drink).

But the Punjabi derivation leads us nowhere.

Hence I am of the view that the exact derivation of the name Shalamar Bagh for the Lahore gardens, is not definitely known, but the sentence of Sujan Rae Batalvi :-

"...........اما شالامار باغ که حضرت شاهجهان بادشاه به تقلید باغ کشمیر
احداث فرموده اند ، دلفریب نظارگیان است "۔ 1

suggestes that the *genesis* of the name is due to its design corresponding to the Shalamar Bagh in Kashmir.

1 Kashir : Dr. G. M. Din Sufi, page 829, Vol. II.

The Development Of The Muslim Ummah During The Life-Time Of The Prophet Muhammad

By

Zafar Ishaq Ansari, Karachi

When Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah (peace be upon him) embarked upon his prophetic mission he found around him a society organised on the basis of blood-kinship. The purpose of this paper is to examine in brief the nature of the fundamental changes brought about by him in the organisation of society during his life-time.

The Society of the Jahiliyah :

The need of mutual defence and mutual economic support had led to the rise of clans (qawam) and tribes (qabilah) whose members were tied together by the idea of common blood through descent from a common ancestor—whether real or fictitious. Even religion was a "reflex of the social organisation. Each clan had a clan deity, a counterpart of its clan chieftain in the belief world." [1] The tribe (or its subdivision, the clan) was also the only basis of social security. The tribe alone could ensure the protection of a person's life and property against aggression by other tribes which could be held in check only by the threat of effective retaliation. Moreover, nomadic desert pastoralism could not be carried on by individuals or small family groups which also gave pre-eminence to tribe as an economic unit. Accordingly none could afford to live without association with a tribe or clan. If ever a person or a family broke off its ties with the tribe or clan of its birth, it had to secure the protection of some other tribe by seeking to become its client (mawla), or protected neighbour (jar) or confederate (halif) of some tribe.

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[1] Husaini, S.A.Q., Arab Administration, Madras, 1949, p. 9.

These tribes regarded themselves as self-sufficient and thanks to the rigorous condition of life which frequently led to inter-clan or inter-tribal feuding over water and pasturage there developed a strong tribal particularism. Even though sometimes several tribes used to join together into a confederation, this was only for a limited purpose such as fighting against a similar confederation of tribes. The main tribes were, therefore, according to Watt, "sovereign and independent political entities.".[1] The attitude of each tribe towards other tribes was based on a deep sense of inherent superiority over others on the ground of ancestral greatness. Each of these tribes competed with others in trying to appropriate the very meagre resources of the desert land. The relationship between them was, therefore, generally that of hostility.[2]

The driving force of this social system was 'asabiyyah', the spirit of the clan. It implied, according to Hitti, "boundless and unconditional loyalty to fellow clansmen" and corresponded "in general to the patriotism of the passionate, chauvinistic type."[3] The 'asabiyyah' consisted in one's remaining faithful to one's fellow clansmen and helping one's brother (*i.e.* brother in-clan or tribe) be he the wrong-doer or the wronged."[4] The principle was : "My tribe : right or wrong." A man was required to be always prepared to sink or swim with his clansmen.[5] Even if that clan asked a person to give up his wife, there was no choice for him but to do so. Thus we find that in pre-Islamic period the loyalty to the tribe stood above all loyalties. There do not appear to have existed any moral values to which this unqualified.

1 Watt, W. Montgomery, Muhammad at Medina, Oxford, 1956, p. 239, hereafter referred as Watt.

2 At Mujmal fi Tarikh a Adab at Arabs, ed. Taha Husain, Ahmed Amin and others, Cairo, 1928, p. 7, referred hereafter as Mujmal.

3 Hitti, Phillip K , History of the Arabs, London, 1956, p. 27 referred hereafter as Ḥitti.

4 Ali Jauwad, Tarikh a Arab Qabl a Islam, Vol. 1, Cairo, 1950, p 365.

5 At Mubarrad, al Kamil ed. W. Wright (Leipzig, 1864) p. 229, L. 3, quoted by Hitti op cit. p. 27. According to another poet.
"There is nothing for me but that I fail if the expedition (of the tribe) fails, and succeed, if it succeeds. (*Vide* a Mujmal fi Tarikh a Arab a Arabi, ed. Taha Husain and others, Cairo, 1928, p. 77.

and unlimited loyalty to the tribe could be subordinated. On the contrary, tribal 'asabiyyah' was uppermost in the hierarchy of social values.

Muhammad's Early Teachings and the Tribal Asabiyyah :

The message that the Prophet Muhammad conveyed to his people was to surrender to Allah, the One God; worship none but Him; accept Muhammad as the messenger of Allah, and the guidance that he brought as Divine Guidance and live a righteous life in accordance with it. In the realm of belief, Muhammad insisted on rejecting all deities as there is no god but the God. With regard to human conduct, he insisted that the loyalty to God be placed above all loyalties and duty to God be regarded above all other duties. Even the duty of obeying parents, which has been frequently emphasised by Muhammad in his own preachings had also been quite often stressed in the Quran, was not allowed to keep a man away from his duty to God; worshipping none but Him.[1]

Thus from the very beginning of the Prophet Muhammad's prophetic career, we find certain ideas emerging. These ideas created a new focus of loyalty, a loyalty to which all loyalties had to be subordinated—man's loyalty to his Creator. This was to lead to the destruction of the entire Jahili social order, including the whole value-system on the basis of which the social life of that period had been raised.

Muhammad's teaching in general, and his opposition to idolatory and his appeal to the Quraysh to submit to the discipline of a divinely-ordained moral code in particular were, at first, received by them with ridicule and slander, and later one, with persecution of the Prophet and his followers. To the Quraysh these few followers of Muhammad were heretics and apostates, the blacksheep who had forsaken the faith of their Qawm[2] and

1 XXIX ; 8 (this belongs to the Meccan period).

2 That the early Muslims had "forsaken the faith of their Qawm," was an accusation levelled before the Abassinian King, by the two of emissaries of Quraysh who went to Abyssinia to persuade the Neguns to surrender the Muslim migrants, *vide* At Muslimoon, Damascus, Vol. 5, No. 6, October, 1956, p. 525.

their forefathers. To Muhammad and to his followers, their small group constituted the elect ; the chosen group which had discovered the Will of God and was trying to carry it out ; the elite which had been pulled out from darkness to light. Most of the groups of believers at Mecca belong to the Quraysh, like Abu Bakr and 'Uthman ibn Affan. But there were others too, like Bilal and Zayd bin Harithah, who were slaves of foreign origin—the Ajamis. Thus the mission preached by Muhammad began to disrupt the contemporary social structure by putting the Qurayshite Abu Bakr with the Abyssinian Bilal in one camp, as co-workers in the cause of faith.

The continued persecution of the followers of Muhammad at the hands of their kith and kin; the emigration of a considerable number of believers to Abyssinia, the mutual sharing of afflictions by people of various tribal afflictions in promoting the cause of the faith ; the cruelties that were perpetrated upon many of them by their own blood-kin—all these factors, besides the teachings of the Qur'an and the preachings of Muhammad played a great part in moulding the mental attitude of Muhammad's Ummah in eradicating tribal 'asabiyyah' and replacing it with some kind of 'asabiyyah' for their brethren-in-faith. The ten years of Muhammad's Meccan mission were decisive in so far as event after event hammered into the minds of the believers that neither tribal affiliation nor worldly riches nor any other token of respectability could do them good. It is only in recognising Truth—revealed through Muhammad—and following it that a man's salvation lies in, and it is in this that a man's worth consists. The natural result was that the unbelieving notables of the Quraysh were contemptuously branded by the Qur'an as "the frightened asses",[1] while the Abyssinian Bilal as a believer, was regarded as the member of the "best community". Another verse of the Qur'an occurring in a Meccan surah also throws light on the development of the Muslim mentality.

[1] Qur'an LXXIV: 50 (this occurs in a Meccan surah.

"The Romans have been defeated
in the nearer land, and they, after their
defeat, will be victorious
within ten years—Allah's is the Command in
the former case and the latter—and *in that day*
believers will rejoice." [1]

The italicised words which clearly indicate that due to Islam the Romans, who were believers in God (although not Muslims) had become preferable in the eyes of the Muslims as against the pagan Persians, (who were otherwise preferred by the Quraysh and other tribes). This is a pointer to the change that had started to take place in the value-system of the Muslims.

Before moving on to the Medinan period, let us take a review of the Meccan period of the Prophet's life in so far as it is relevant to our subject. In the words of Joseph Hell:

"The position of the ruling families of Mekka was not so much against the new teachings as against the social and political revolutions they sought to introduce. A glance at the constitution of the small community suffices to prove the displeasure and disquiet of the Quraish. In this new society not only were tribal differences wiped out, but even the ancient division between free men and slaves was threatened." [2]

After Muhammad's mission had continued for about nine years the prospects of the spread of Islam among the Quraysh of Mecca or even the people of Ta'if appeared quite bleak, but *Yathrib* (or Medina) seemed full of great promise. In 620 some Yathribites, mainly of the Khazraj tribe came, to 'Ukaz fair and embraced Islam; on their return they took with them Mus'ab an illustrious companion of the Prophet, in order to spread Islam in Yathrib. The result was that in the following year a delegation of seventy-five Yathribites, belonging to the two mutually quarelling Arab tribes of the city—the Aus and Khazraj—came to Ukkaz

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1 Qur'an XXX: 2-4

2 Hell, Joseph, the Arab Civilization, Tr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, Lahore, II edition, 1943, p. 10.

and requested the Prophet to make it his home. Muhammad readily agreed after the delegates had assured him of protection against his enemies. In 622 he reached Madinah, preceded by some two hundred of his Meccan followers. With full control of the affairs of Madinah in his hands thanks to the devotion and loyalty of his companions he set out to put into practice his ideals of reform and build up a community in accordance with these ideals.

The Muslim Ummah at Madinah :

The direction in which the Muslim Ummah had developed during its ten years of life at Makkah remained unchanged at Madinah, and the development went on apace. The first important event relevant to our subject that took place in Madinah was the formal "fraternization" (Muwakhah) of the Meccan emigrants" (Muhajirun) and the Medinian "helpers" (Ansars). The process was simple: the Prophet used to pick one person from the emigrants and one from the helpers, and declare them to be "brother" of each other.[1] The emigrants who thus became brothers of helpers shared their properties with them and even had a share in their inheritance until this practice was revoked by the Qur'an.

Besides "fraternization", the Prophet drew up a constitution,[2] of the state of Madinah in the first year of the Hijrah. This document according to Nicholson, was ostensibly "a cautious and tactful reform" (but) it was in reality a revolution. Muhammad durst not strike at the independence of the tribes, but he destroyed it, in effect, by shifting the centre of power from the tribe to the community.[3] The following significant points are to be noted :

1 Hasan Ali Ibrahim, Tarikh at Islam Am. vol. II, Cairo, 1936, pp. 150-153.

2 For the text of this constitution *see* Ibn Histram op. cit. vol. II pp. 147-151. See its English Translation in M. Watt's Muhammad at Madina op. cit. pp- 221-225 and its Urdu translation in Hamidullah, Muhammad, Ahd-i-Nabwi men Nizam-i-Hukmrani, Hydrabad, n.d., pp. 102-111.

3 Nicholson. R.A., A literary History of the Arabs, Cambridge, 1953, p. 173.

First, that the 'believers' and those jews who are their allies for common defence, constitute one Ummah as distinct from the rest of the world. However, this unity is based on specific terms and conditions on which the two parties—the believers and those jewish tribes who follow them and are attached to them and crusade along with them—had agreed as their terms of confederation. Even in apportioning the responsibilities of common defence, the 'believers' are mentioned as one party and the Jews as the other.

Secondly, the separate entity of believers as a community of faith, transcending the tribal affiliations of the individual believers, is clearly recognized. The believers are not allowed to forsake any debtor among them ; the peace of the believers is one, in case of any loss of believers' blood in the way of God all the believers will take revenge ; no believer can with the confederate or client of another believers.[1]

Thirdly, though the Muslims are divided internally into separate tribal affiliations; but unlike the former times, these tribes are not independent and sovereign political entities. They are rather merely administrative units.[2] As administrative units they remain and discharge some useful administrative functions, but gone is their former position as the focus of man's supreme loyalty. The tribes, therefore, remained but that particularism, and that chanvinistic attachment to them that would stand in the way of subordinating this tribal association to any other higher consideration are destroyed. These tribal units still had a degree of autonomy and was made responsible for its own internal matters pertaining to their own 'quarters' and for the payment of bloodmoney (which will be done as formerly jointly) and ransoming their own captives.[3]

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1 See the text of the constitution in Ibn Hisham pp. 147—151 ; Watt, 'Montgomery 'Muhammad at Madina. Oxford 1956, pp. 221-225 ; and Hamidullah, Ahd-i-Nabawi men Nizam-i-Hukmrani, II edition, Hydrabad, n.d., pp. 102-111.

2 See clauses 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 & 11 in Hamidullah op. cit., p. 102ff.

3 *Ibid.*

The Teachings of the Prophet:

Besides these events which influenced the development of the Muslim Ummah, the teachings of the Prophet [1] too played a very important part and we find a deep impress of them on the character of the Ummah of the early Islamic period. Some of the teachings which have direct bearing on our subject were the following:

1. The essential unity of mankind is emphasised in the Qur'an which points out the common ancestry of man. [2] The Prophet himself also stressed the point on various occasions.

2. The concept of the superiority of one tribe over another was denounced as "arrogance of the times of ignorance".[3] There was no nobility inherent in blood. Real nobility consisted in piety and good conduct. [4]

3. As a corollary to this, 'asabiyyah' was strongly denounced by the Prophet, who said:

"Whoever dies for 'asabiyyah', is not one of us.

Whoever calls towards 'asabiyyah' is not one of us.

Whoever fights for 'asabiyyah' is not one of us." [5]

A companion of the Prophet once asked him about the meaning of 'asabiyyah'. "Is one's love of one's folk 'asabiyyah'", he enquired. "No", said the Prophet, "Asabiyyah" is to support one's folk in wrong doing."[6]

In the latter saying the Prophet clearly explains as to when the love of one's folk assumes wrong proportions. Love of one's folk, however, was not condemned in itself.

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1 The teachings include Quranic teachings (imparted to the community through the Prophet as well as his own sayings *i.e.* Ahadith.

2 See for instance Quran IV : and XLIX: 10.

3 See for instance of Santanilla, D. de., article "Law & Society", The Legacy of Islam, ed. T. Arnold & A. Gullaume, London, 1949. p. 286.

4 Quran XLIX: 10.

5 Cf. Mawdudi, Abul Ala, Masalah-i-Qawmiyat, Lahore, p. 18.

6 *Ibid*, p. 98.

4. The concept of an idealogical Ummah was further elaborated. It was not to be a community of people joined together for the sake of "enjoining right and forbidding indecency".[1] This Ummah will (therefore) not be confined to any particular people. All those who accept Islam become members of this fraternity of faith, [2] and protecting friends of one another.[3]

Besides these and other teachings representing similar trends of ideas, incidental circumstances contributed to the promotion of the character and temperament of the Ummah. The conflict with the Quraysh which led to kinsmen shedding each other's blood; the disputes with the Jews which led to their killing and ultimately expulsion; and the ultimate conquest of Mecca by the Prophet.

When Muhammad (peace be on him) breathed his last in 632, he had destroyed the basis of the Jahili social organisation; the facus of loyalty had shifted from one's kinsmen to Allah and in social terms, to the Ummah (community) of those who had surrendered to Allah and accepted His religion; in other words, to an Ummah based on religion, and not on kinship. This was a revolution indeed: It had not only united the arrogant and quarrelsome tribes of Arabia under one political authority but also effected a revolution in the mental attitudes of people. This changed mental outlook found innumerable manifestations during the life of the Prophet when the 'asabiyyah' of the days of ignorance, it appeared, had been eradicated. This state of affairs, however, did not last long. Though subdued, t had not been altogether rooted out. And so we find 'asabiyyah' raising its head again and in the fourteen centuries of Muslim history, although the ideological spirit of Ummah had also been there, endeavouring to curb it, and replace it by a higher ideological 'asabiyyah'.

1 Qur'an III: 110.
2 Qur'an LX: 8
3 Qur'an IX: 151
4 Watt, op. cit. p. 247.

To recapitulate : while the tribal 'asabiyyah' was subdued by the Prophet during his life-time, he did not abolish the tribes as such. We have already seen in the constitution of Madinah that some features of tribal organisation had been left in act in the social organisation of the Muslim Community. It appears that the Prophet had no objection against the continued existence of the tribes as administrative and economic units. Later on, during the days of Umar, the second Caliph, these tribal and clan units served as military formations and their existence facilitated the drawing up of pay-rolls for the standing Arab army.

Durrani Climax—An Interpretation

By

K. Safdar Ali.

In the haze of unauthentic history where we tread hesitantly and with which we proceed to examine the stages by which the transcendental consummation in the shape of Durrani over—lordship of Indus—Kabul—Helmand regions was reached in the mid-eighteenth century, if there is anything really outstanding to record, it is the conception of the "Dividing line", in the Pak Afghan lands. The inexcapable influence of this duality is traceable from the earliest known record of man's activity in these regions. This being the case it was only natural to expect the whole recorded history of the later centuries to take its cue from the overpowering influence of this special feature. Nor did this restrict itself to the physical constituents of its inhabitants. In no lesser degree the spirit running through the ages seems to have assumed a similar state of duality in the fields of cultural and intellectual activity. Nevertheless the perennial down-pour from the Central Asian human head works continued its unceasing flow to serve both the wings faithfully with uniformity of racial constituents. For some timetheir daulity wore only a thin gauze as a blanket convering, so that it was easy to notice the underlying unity for a considerably long stretches of time. Its ultimate absorption of the originally variant systems, which it found in the land of adoption, however, gave it in course of time a distinctive appearance ; so that a stage was reached when the old could be clearly distinguished from the new.

The impact of world empires continued to exert their influence in uniting these twins at intervals. These perennial meeting-points stretched over long periods of time ultimately afforded a historic back-ground of unity in which it could evolve in fruition of time a peculiar individuality of its own. By the 5th Century A.D. the

huns mixed with the Turkish elements were found busy evolving a racial rock-bed over which the dim-features of Pak-Afghan races could be perceived. The requisite information in this case was vouch-safed for posterity by the seventh century through the reliable Chinese sources. During the same period, however, these regions were also assiduously cultivating those qualities which belonged to the domain of human spirit.

The Aryans not only imported gods from their original home lands, they were also faced with the ordeal of rehabilitating the gods which were prevalent in the countries they settled. In their new settlements were born the avestic and vedic philosophers which was a spiritual response to the challenge of the native gods of their new settlements. When in course of time these philosophers became stuck up, condemned to socio-political immobility there was further release of spiritual energy which produced the new creeds of Christianity and Budhism.

The people and the Kings combined to relish a spiritual communion with the blessed. Moryan and Kushan Empires as historic representatives of such a communion in these regions were attempts to unite the political with the spiritual aspects of national life. The Budhistic creed penetrated deep into the soil, where it flourished for a number of centuries. By the time Islam was to penetrate in these regions both from the South through the Arabian sea or from the West by the ancient travel routes, Pak-Afghans had already begun to make their presence felt. Contemporary Turkish Sultans and Indo-Aryan Kings were observed grappling with this new political factor on the Cis-Hindu Kush horizon. Fortune smiled over this novel appearance at times. Sometime tables were turned against them in which they suffered the dejection of humiliating defeat.

The pre-historic duality of these regions lingered on like a phantom sliding along a dark wooded passage. It seemed to be no easy matter to escape from its eeric presence. Every dynasty with pretensions to an imperial sway over these regions experienc-

ed the impact of this Phenomenoe. They were either profited from it or faced it with baffling results. The net results, however, was a clear advantage for a foreigner to secure control of the country. The native elements had no alternative to acceptance of the Yoke imposed from without or in the event of refusal to pay a heavy price in an unending disquiet in the country. In later ages Mughals and Persians who were caught napping in the net of this eternal duality contesting hagemony of these regions contributed no little towards the awakening of socio-political invidualiy east and west of Suleiman ranges. Thus although initial success seems to have attended the early stages of their struggle, the results for both proved disastrous in the end.

Then something happened as if by magic or as in a dream. A new star on the Western horizon rose. It shone with a scintilating luster, so that it blinded the on-lookers for a while. Then suddenly this luminous flame was extinguished. It seemed as if it had never existed. Death in itself hallowed with its dramatic details in his case left no sign of him. This was Nadir Shah. Obscurity covered the details of his origin. Pitch darkness now prevailed over his achievements. But through his short-lived Meteoric career he bequeathed for posterity a sociopolitical change of transcendental importance for the Cis-Hindu Kush sub-continent. Over his ashes Pak-Afghan people came into their own.

The first experience of an empire came to them under the Ghilzais. This was immediately preceding the rise of Nadir Shah. Actually it looked as though the latter trampelled over it, ostensibly without any expression of rancour, wanting them to forget this preliminary lesson. Then with his keen appreciation of Pak-Afghan elements he took them into partnership with his seemingly grandiose experiment of world domination. The least of what military genius in him must have fathomed at that stage was the deep meaning in them which promised a future when these hitherto handicapped elements will stretch their hands to snatch from Destiny's squeezing palm, sovereignty for their home-lands and

for their natural racio-geographic extensions. This dream or expectation was soon to come true.

By the closing years of the second decade of his amazing career a dark cloud descended over the fast degenerating intellect of Nadir Shah. The power wielded by a mind as untutored as he could have escaped from being un-hinged only by a miracle. Fabulous riches contaminated the simple soul with the back ground of a peasant herdsman. It turned him from a national saviour who had brought glory to his country after releasing it from the helpless state of foreign domination, into a curse for every one around him. In that category however, the important exception was that of the Pak-Afghan elements. Jealousy and a haunting fear of further repression from the ruthless despot drove his Persian compatriots to the only weapon left with them now to save themselves from an approaching doom.

After the fateful night of 2nd of June, 1747, in Kuchan military encampment where the regicides successfully delivered their blow, the bonds which had held the Pak-Afghan military machine tied to the persian wheels now broke lose. The floods receded towards the mountain fastnesses of their own homelands in the east. The true nature of this organized retreat as a result of this violent disconnection could be understood only in the light of subsequent events following their arrival at Kandhar. The dispersal from the Parent tree at Kuchan supplied the seedling for the future birth of a nascent State.

In many ways it differed from all erstwhile political growths of states in Pak-Afghan lands. It introduced through an electoral college of Chiefs of tribes an elective principle in the procedure connected with the chosing of a King from amongst them. The fact that the principle was burried with the body of first elected is another matter. The elective body survived the shock of being shorn of its instrument of power. For good or worse even when hereditary principle for kingship had all but been accepted as a divine right the Loi Jerga spread out its tentacles to influence

every phase of the early Durrani State. As kingship declined the body of chiefs of tribes assumed an increasingly important role as the final arbiter of the nation. Finally kingship in Afghanistan itself was replaced by the "Amirate" drawing political strength from what was essentially an excrescence of the body of chiefs functioning at times of neeeds as king makers.

Elective principle for kingship as a result of the dispersal from Kuchan was a ripe fruit dropped from that parent tree. Still another fruit and that a more durable achievement was the birth of a new conception hitherto vaguely but never clothed with a designation. This was what today we may venture to call as a sense of nationalism. How far its birth was the result of the Persian exile of the tribal contingents and even more the deep adulation in which Nadir Shah regarded them as his chosen subjects cannot be stated. This much may be asserted without fear of contradiction that "nationalism" took the place of external or individual discordant tribal domination which had so far been the lot of these regions. Still more the name of "Afghanistan" for a much wider geographical conception than now understood came into use. Thus these 'Apo-Kins' around the Suleiman ranges of which the Chinese travellers spoke in the 6th and 7th cent. A.D. kept a date with history. Not unlike the Germany of the 19th Century it began with the conception of an empire. Then slowly it assumed with gradual territorial deletions of our own times a compactness imparting it the designation of a kingdom.

The accident of election brought a men to regal power who was saturated in the military and territorial tradition of Nadir Shah. To him his late master served as a model. This single fact at least for the period of quarter of a century of rule of the founder dominated the course of history of these regions. The legend of Nadir allowed a tacit acceptance of military settlement bequeathed by him atleast within the territories bounded in the North by Oxus, extending South upto the Seas, with Khorasan in the West and the river Sutluj in the East. It is astonishing to learn from the British sources how far even upto the first two

decades of the 19th century when Durrani empire was actually crumbling the Politico-geographic conception of Afghanistan adhered to these territorial dimensions.

The Nadirian tradition was pursued in still another sphere. This was the special political treatment meted out to the effette court at Delhi. The Timuride rule now restricted tamely to the country surrounding the capital Town of Delhi implied however, in theory a conception of dominion over conglomeration of races which the recently acquired nationalist urge of Pak-Afghans instinctively avoided. The settlement of Nadir had drawn a boundary-line at Sutluj beyond which technically the taxative jurisdiction of his revenue officers did not extend. Within these territorial demarcations made effective by Geographical features which were counted real in that age the only discordant element was that of the Sikhs. Their sinister presence supplied the Punjab with a permanent element of disturbance. In the course of years it grew into a menace which was to dismember the empire forged so laboriously by the founders in the early years of the Durrani State.

The struggle which bore such valuable though precariously sustained results was at best only an experimentation in independent national existence. It seemed as if a long schooling formed an unavoidable adjunct to the growth of the infant state. Nature was found getting prepared to make its exacting demand on the good sense of the rulers and the ruled. The simple election which brought a half willing youth of 23 on the throne with a barely wreath to adorn his forehead as a crown was forgotten. The later Durranis were hereditary rulers who symbolized in their individual persons the worst form of absolutism. Even their wel-meaning ministers, most of them chiefs of tribes, the members of the Loi Jerga received scanty co-operation from them to evolve a semblance of administrative machine in the country. On the other hand their personal characters were everything that a king should not be. The simple "Dervish" qualities of Ahmad Shah which won for him the respect and love of his subjects was now

replaced by a gospel of hate and violence. Internecine strife became the order of the day. The social atmosphere was no less contaminated by degeneration at the higher levels.

The time wheel now worked to bring the days of retribution. The first blow came with the loss of effective power in the Punjab resulting in the acceptance of *defacto* rule of the Sikhs in most of Central Punjab east of India. To this was added the Province of Kashmir in the later part of 2nd decade of the 19th Century and finally the loss of trans-Indus regions to the same element in the early part of the 3rd decade of the same century. Thus the twins—the Kabul Helmand and the major portion of the more important part of the Indus Valley that had carried their intervertebral union for nearly seventy years broke lose. The nascent nationalism engendered during this period was smothered before the travails of its birth had ceased. The unending fratricidal strife following the end of the first two reigns delivered the fateful jerk which over-turned the Durrani political apple cart and with it the wider nationalism which at best could then be described as still in an embryonic stage. The heritage of Nadir Shah after its reconquest by Ahmad Shah with the strength of his right arm was squandered away by his un-worthy successors.

The Barakzai brothers stepped into their shoes. The family had missed regal power in the election of October, 1747 by a magnanimous withdrawal based on national interest. Their position as hereditary Wazirs was undermined by the crude absolutism of later Sadozai kings. The losses sustained by their predecessors were now accepted by them as brazen facts from which there was no getting away. The vivisection both in its ethnographic or as implied in its still wider geographical dimensions remained a night-mare with them for sometime. It involved them into further complications after the rivalry with the Sikhs in the Indus Valley was replaced by similar, though with altered implications, attitude towards the new occupants—the British. Over a century elapsed during which the twin in the West maintained a comparatively quiet though not an uneventful state of disinterestedness. The

twin in the East whiled away a century in close companionship with another partner of the Cis-Hindu Kush Sub-continent. The verdict of history dubbed them as strange bed fellows. Their forced alliance involved a permanent state of political instability. The elements of conflict in course of time gathered momentum. Only a foreigner appearing as a third party in the suit could have profited from this un-natural union.

Then suddenly the twins in the east came of age. On August 1947 it took its birth assuming after exactly two hundred years an almost uncanny resemblance with the original combination of provinces of the incipient Kingdom of October, 1747. The two centuries had changed everything except its territorial dimensions. A part of Kashmir was snatched away by the Grabbing partner in the East. The fate ot the snippet, however, remained sub-judice. The two twins of the inter-vertibral union now face each other accross the border on the Suleiman ranges. Strange as it may seem there is a light of recognition perceptable in the interchange of glances which penetrate the haze enveloping a long century and a quarter of their historical isolation.

A TUSSLE FOR PUNJAB LEADERSHIP

By

Y. Abbas

The estrangement between Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Sir Sikander Hayat Khan gave rise to serious misunderstanding between the two politicians and became a subject of lively controversy in the contemporary Muslim press. The "Daily Ehsan" in its issue of 28th February, 1935 remarked that "for some time past the atmosphere of Punjab politics has been full of rumours of the supposed rivalry between Mian Fazl-i-Husain and Capt. Sir Sikander Hayat on the question of Chief ministership of the Punjab under the new constitutional set up." "Daur-i-Jadid" the organ of the Unionist Party in its issue of 24th February 1935 felt constrained to write an editorial to emphasize the solidarity of the two Unionist top leaders. "There is no difference between these two gentlemen, but it is unfortunate that the Hindu press has spread this canard so persistently that even those who are well connected with affairs find themselves in a state of perplexity. Unfortunately some of our Muslim contemporaries have added to this confusion. The Hindu papers are persistently spreading the dirty propaganda that Mian Sahib is an arch-communalist and Sirdar Sikandar Hayat Khan is a dear friend of the Hindus." However the situation was different than portrayed by "Ehsan" or "Daur-i-Jadid".

Rao Bahadur Chhotu Ram's statement in contradiction of such persistent speculations about their differences reveals between the lines the serious nature of their rivalry. "For some time past it was generally believed in political circles that the stage was being set in the Punjab for a "tussle" between Sir Sikander and Sir Fazli for the office of Chief Minister. It was further believed that a combined party of certain Hindu and Sikh politicians was preparing to offer their leadership to Sir Sikander and holding out to him the prospects of Chief Ministership, provided he could

bring with him a sufficient number of Muslims to form a stable majority in the Council. Public attention was pointedly drawn to the likelihood of an alliance on these lines by the speeches made in the Legislative Council some time ago when party leaders formally bade farewell to Sir Sikander. Hindu and Sikh leaders pointedly expressed their desire to see the retiring Revenue Member at the helm of the ministry in the reformed Council, and said that, if they could have Sir Sikander as Chief Minister in the Punjab, the communal and other safeguards in the constitution would not matter. They further suggested that they would allow Sir Sikander to enjoy his "leave" from the Punjab Council only until the advent of the new reforms. Sir Sikander's reply suggested a provisional acceptance of the 'offer'.

Sir Fazl-i-Husain's followers in the Punjab asserted that the real object of the pro-Sikander Hayat's move was to keep Sir Fazli out, as it was generally believed that the choice of Chief Minister lay practically between these two Muslim leaders. (Civil & Military Gazette, 26th February 1935).

It is surprising that in spite of the later statements issued by both of them contradicting their mutual differences, it failed to carry much conviction with the newspapers and people in general. Both of them took pains to emphasize the cordial nature of their personal relationship and paid glowing tributes to each other publicly. The "Inqlab" in its issue of 27th February, 1935, published the account of an interview with Sir Sikander Hayat, in which he said that "he accepted Sir Fazl-i-Hussain not only as his own leader but also looked upon him as the greatest leader of Mussalmans". The newspaper expressed its pleasure on this clear rebuttal of the Hindu propaganda against Muslim leadership in the Punjab, but "regretted the inordinate delay in the issue of this contradiction."

In spite of all the surface goodwill, the differences seem to have been too real to be plastered over in newspaper statements and contradictions. This tussle as it did come on the eve of constitutional changes had a deeper political significance than a mere

estrangement between two old friends on their personal level. In 1935 the political situation was very fluid all over the sub-continent ; new political groupings and alignments seemed to be the order of the day. The political leaders were refurbishing their armour and the political parties galvanising their organisations to fight the election battle under the new constitution. The transfer of political power in the provinces was to be a result of direct elections in which the party and personal position would necessarily depend on the degree of influence on the newly enfranchised electorate. In these circumstances it is not difficult to understand that why every politician tried his best to stick to his zone of political activity. To venture forth or hang on in gubernatorial offices of doubtful future under the Central government, away from the real springs of political power in the provinces would have been nothing short of political harakiri. It amply explains Sir Fazl-i-Hussain's eagerness to stage a come-back to the Punjab politics from the Viceroy's Executive Council on the expiry of his term of office as the Revenue Member, and Sir Sikander's hesitation to accept a dignified exile to Calcutta as the Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India.

Though Sir Fazl-i-Hussain had been without a peer in provincial politics and enjoyed the stature of an All India leader, he did not find it easy to reclaim his former position in the Punjab, for he had aroused considerable opposition in the sections of Muslim population, and had earned the bitter hostility of the Hindus. On his retirement from the Viceroy's Executive Council, the elevation of Sir Zafar Ullah Khan to the Council as a representative of the Muslims of Punjab, was sorely resented by the Ahrars, who attributed it to the influence of Mian Sahib. Unfortunately there was a substance of truth in this allegation, but with the difference that Mian Sahib had not espoused Sir Zafar Ullah for his religious creed, but for his ability and perhaps for his own political convenience. "The Zamindar" had opened its broadside against Mian Sahib and the Ahrars eager to make political capital out of this episode were "establishing friendly

contacts with Unionist leaders like Sir Sikander Hayat Khan and Nawab Muzaffar Khan. They felt that they would not be able to hold their own against self-willed Mian Sahib, so Sir Sikander Hayat Khan should be made a leader of the Punjab." (P. 88. Yaran i-Kuhan.) The campaign against Sir Fazl-i-Hussain for his alleged partiality to the Qadiani sect was so strong that even a fairminded paper like "Ehsan" had to demand that, "before Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hussain enters the field of Punjab politics again he would have to remove the blot from his fair name, which has been caused by his pro-Qadiani policy." The Hindu fear and hatred of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain was understandable. He firmly believed that the Muslims should be given their legitimate share as the majority community in the political and economic set up of the Punjab. In order to enable the Muslims to make up for their leeway in the political, economic and educational fields certain special safeguards should be provided for them. Though this policy was strictly within the orbit of Lucknow-Pact, the Hindus of the Punjab irrespective of their political affiliations, united in a campaign of relentless opposition against him. His pro-Congress sympathies in All-India affairs did not save him from the attacks of the Hindu press. As his leadership of the conglomerate Unionist Party had not prevented him from the stout defence of the Muslim rights, some of his erstwhile Hindu colleagues perhaps also fought shy of co-operating with him in view of the rising temper of the Hindu press and people, so they had started exploring the chances of joining hands with a Muslim leader, who is less offensive to the Hindu susceptibilities. Hence the parleys between the various groups of Hindus led by politicians like Sir Gokal Chand, Sir Shadi Lal, and Raja Narendra Nath. The testimony of Hayat-i-Sikander (P. 27) furnishes further proof of the popularity of Sir Sikander with the Hindus. "Due to the impending constitutional reforms, the communal problems of the Punjab had become very acute. The Hindu members of the Legislative Council were apprehensive of the Zamindar Party of the late Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. Sir Sikander who was a prominent member of the said Zamindar Party enjoyed the confidence of all the parties in the Legislative

Council. He had the reputation of being the binding link between the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Swarajists and the official members of the Council". The Hindu newspapers including the Congress spokesman the "Tribune" denounced Sir Fazl-i-Husain as the archenemy of Hindu-Muslim Unity. (P. 82-Yaran-i-Kuhan.) The bitter criticism of Hindu press is no small measure an index of his pro-Muslim policies. The Hindus mortally feared the return of Minan Sahib to the area of Punjab politics, which in their opinion had been enjoying a comparative calm and peace in the absence of Mian Sahib. Extracts from Hindu press quoted in "Daur-i-Jadid" of 24th February, 1935 reveals the Hindu apprehensions un-mistakenably, " Sir Fazl-i-Hussain has astounded the Punjab by his scheming. He plans to take up public life on his retirement from the Central Government.—He would adopt a new line of policy. He would renounce 'Communalism' and put up the pose of a staunch nationalist." His adherents hope that the moment he delivers some public speeches, the Hindu nationalist elements would forget his (black) record of the past. With the support of the nationalist Hindus he would then attempt to capture power under the new Constitution. But the popularity of Sir Sikander Hayat Khan and Nawab Muzaffar Khan among the Hindus has complicated the situation for him. If Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Sir Gokal Chand and Sir Joginder Singh can unite they can defeat Sir Fazl-i-Husain in his designs and can form a very stable ministry in the Punjab. Chaudhari Sir Shihab-ud-Din would also give his support to them. The Firoz Khan Noon group—is already estranged from Sir Fazl-i-Hussain.

Undoubtedly the Hindu press and politicians were trying to create a rift among the Muslim leaders by playing off one against the other. Some of the Muslim newspapers were fully conscious of the Hindu intentions of sowing the seeds of discord among the Muslim leaders. The "Siyasat" daily in its issue of 22nd February, sounded a note of warning to the Muslim people and politicians. "The question arises why is Mian Sahib being villified ? The answer is simple—The Hindus

are afraid of him. They fear that either Mian Sahib or some one subscribing to his policy would form the government. Unlike the Musalmans, the Hindus being far sighted people have started denouncing Mian Sahib, well in advance of the contingency. They also hold out bright prospects of ministership to some of the office-hungry Musalmans. So the nefarious scheme to split the Muslim majority in the Punjab is already afoot................. In these circumstances, the most important obligation for us all is to affirm that in the present All-India political set up, the policy of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain is best suited to Muslim interests. Every individual, he may be Noon, Sikander or Muzzaffar, should declare unequivocally that he firmly stands by this policy. Sir Sikander has given a lie to the rumours regarding the differences with Sir Fazl-i-Hussain,........ but it would have been still more desirable if he had also expressed complete accord with the policy of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain."

Sir Sikander who had succeeded Sir Fazl-i-Hussain in the leadership of the Muslims and of the Unionist Party in the Punjab had by 1935 become a formidable rival for his former benefactor. In spite of the outward professions of goodwill on both the sides the tussle for leadership had become really acute. Sir Sikander was more affable and less domineering than Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. Though he followed the pro-Muslim policy of his predecessor, he did it mildly without exciting the hatred and opposition of the Hindus. Surely the Hindus nourished a deeper grudge against Sir Fazli for having originated this policy than against Sir Sikander who followed it without a string. However it did not mean that the latter was ready to undersell the Muslim rights, it only implied that his leadership was more acceptable to the Hindus. His popularity amongst the Hindus is well testified by the favourable reactions of the Hindu press, on his temporary appointment as the governor of the Punjab in July 1932. The daily "Milap" remarked ," We have been backing up the appointment of Capt. Sikander Hayat, and now hail it when it has come through. We hope that as his wont he would rise above

communal considerations." The daily Partap expressed the view that "We are glad that the British Government has not yielded to the retrogressive forces, which do not suffer the Indians to progress." The "Bande Matram" said, "Communal considerations should not be brought in this matter. The fact that Capt. Sikander is a Mussalman should be no disqualification for the post of governorship. However we hope that he would not give the impression by any word or deed that his appointment to governorship is in any way tantamount to the establishment of Muslim rule in the province." The daily "Tribune" (as quoted in the Sikander Number of "Daur-i-Jadid" July 1932), said that "he enjoys such popularity amongst various sections of the population that his appointment has been acclaimed by one and all. In the political circles he is respected for his breadth of vision in the constitutional problems".

His second temporary appointment to the governorship of the Punjab (15th February 1934-9th June 1934) was similarly acclaimed by the Muslim and Hindu press. In 1935, his popularity as a promising leader of the Punjab was at its height. The Hindus definitely would prefer Sir Sikander to Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. The Ahrars openly favoured the elevation of Sir Sikander to the position of Muslim leadership.

It is really baffling that why in such favourable circumstances did Sir Sikander accept the glorified exile to Calcutta? Why did he willingly abdicate in favour of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. If we can put credence in the account given by Maulana Salik in Yaran-i-Kuhan (pp. 87-90), it was due to the clever manipulation of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, who had already maneuvered the nomination of Sir Zafar Ullah from the Muslim Unionist group, as none of the politicians was willing to leave Lahore for New Delhi. He practically isolated Sir Sikander by winning over Sir Shihab-ud-Din with a promise of speakership of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and placating Sir Feroz Khan Noon with the post of Indian High Commissioner in London. So Sir Sikander accepted the post

of Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. Here arises the question why did the allies of Sir Sikander withdraw their support from him and why should have he abdicated in favour of his rival and accepted his exit. The graceful manner in which he left Punjab and the cordiality which still existed between Sir Fazli and Sir Sikander leads us to believe that both of them positively convinced that any rift in the Muslim leadership at this critical juncture would compromise the Muslim position as a majority in the new legislature. Perhaps both of them had reached an understanding to preserve the facade of Muslim unity and to subordinate their personal ambitions if any to the wider interests of Muslim solidarity. Though we do not have any conclusive proof of such an agreement, yet the readiness of Sir Sikander to forego his bright chances in the Punjab and his graceful acceptance of the leadership of the elder leader, is a sufficient proof of the fact that without mutual understanding and a feeling of common concern for the Muslim majority in Punjab, such a smooth political adjustment would not have been possible.

In this episode the nature of their personal relationship cannot be ignored. In fact Sir Fazl-i-Hussain has been mainly instrumental in launching Sir Sikander on his successful political career in 1929, when he was appointed as Revenue Member in the office vacated by him (P. 2-Daur-i-Jadid). "The relations between Sir Fazl-i-Husain and Sir Sikander have always been of perfect goodwill and actual helpfulness. There has never been, there is not now and there will never be a rivalry between these two eminent Unionists. I am not unaware of the attempts which have been made to pit the one against the other, but fortunately both have proved as I fully expected too wary to be caught in the net. While Sir Sikander gave expression—to his deep, affectionate and reverential regard for Sir Fazli it is also true of the latter he has a great regard for the cool judgment, clear political vision and admirable mental equipoise of Sir Sikander, and would do, as he has done in the past, everything in his power to see Sir Sikander rise and prosper as a father would do for his son, or

an elder brother for a younger brother." (Sir Chhotu Ram's Statement—"Civil and Military Gazette", 26th Feb. 1935.)

The concern for Muslim solidarity and their deep friendship resulted in tacit understanding about the leadership of the Punjab. Perhaps Sir Sikander did not like to fight an already dying man. Sir Fazl-i-Husain has been seriously ill, one of his diseased lungs had been dried by the doctors. With his death in early 1936 he quitted the political scene of the Punjab, and Sir Sikander staged a come back in October. It is puerile to speculate how the tussle for power would have shaped if he had lived, but this much is certain that both of them behaved towards each other like perfect gentlemen and did not hesitate to subordinate their personal ambition for the general welfare of the Mussalmans of the Punjab.

A Baluchi Folk-tale

By

Prof. M. Mansoor-ud-Din, M.A., Dacca.

Folk-lore is an interesting subject of study. It is a branch of study of Anthropology. In European countries the floating and oral literature has been put into printed words. In the East it has not as yet received any scientific and research attention. It is a patent fact that the East is the granary of Folk-lore.

Folk-lore consists of oral Folk-tales, Folksongs, Ballads Jingles, and Nursery rhymes etc. Unesco has been paying attention to it. Recently the Unesco commissioned Dr. M. Shahidullah lately of Rajshahi University to report on the Traditional Culture of East Pakistan. He submitted a report on the actual condition of Folk-songs, Folk-dances, Folk-arts etc. of East Pakistan. I heard at Quetta (October, 1958) that Mr. Nabi Baksh Baluch who was similarly commissioned for the West Pakistan Folk-culture. Our Folk-culture is the main pivot of interests now, and Folk-lore is the key of Folk-culture.

The study of Folk-songs got attention from the scholars of Indo-Pak subcontinent. Professor Devindra Nath Satyarthi, M. Mansoor-ud-din and others took up the collection and publication of Folk-songs in Indo-Pak vernaculars.

R.C. Temple, Lal Behari De., Daskhina Ranjan Mitra Mojumdar and some other scholars collected a very small fragments of Folk-tales in Indo-Pak Sub-continent. In Pakistan no new work has been taken up for the study and collection of Folk-tales. It has got a very important say in the domain of culture pattern in our country.

I am submitting a Baluch Folk-tale (with Urdu translation) collected from Quetta through the courtesy of Prinicipal Ata Muhammad Chowdhery of Quetta Govt. College.

Mr. M. Longworth Damsev worked on the Baluch Ballads and published a book on the subject: (Popular Poetry of the Balochis—London 1907) Rev. Mayer collected and printed Baluch classics (with Text in Roman types and English Translation) in 1901 and in subsequent years. I have not seen any collection of Baluch Folk-tales. Here I publish the story of Bahram Shah Keshur and Gulandam. My knowledge of Baluchi and Urdu is zero.

بھرامءِ شاہ کشور یہ دوستیءِ گل اندام

ترجمہ (بھرام شاہ کشور گل اندام کی محبت میں)

بلوچی

یک زمانہءِ بادشاہءِ است ات بادشاہ اللہ تعالیٰ وت انت آ یک سر زمینی بادشاہءِ ات و آئیا یک مردین چک است ات چکءِ نام بھرام شاہ کشور ات ۔ آ وتی مات و پتا نی یکین چک ات ۔ بادشاہءِ وتی چکے تعلیم و تربیت شریءَ کنائنت ۔

بھرام وختے کہ مزن بوت او وتی ورنائیءَ رست آئیا را شکارءِ سک شوق بوت او ہر وختءَ شکارءَ شت ۔ آ یک مزنین سوارءِ ات ۔ یک روچءِ آ وتی اسپءَ سہوار بوت او وتی تینکءِ زرت پہ شکارءَ شت ۔

آ شت شت تن کہ یک جنگلءِ و بیابانءَ آئیے سر کپت جنگلءَ لگتت سیلءِ کت بلے آ نیئارا شکار دپءِ نہ کپت ۔ بیگاہ وخت ات روچ برکت بوئگی ات ۔ اءِ ورنا وتی اسپءَ سوار پدا پہ وتی لوگ روگءَ

اردو

کسی زمانہ میں ایک بادشاہ رہتا تھا اور بادشاہ تو سب کا اللہ تعالیٰ ہی ہے، مگر وہ ایک دنیوی بادشاہ تھا ۔ اس کا ایک اکلوتا لڑکا تھا جس کا نام بھرام شاہ کشور تھا ۔ بادشاہ نے اپنے بیٹے کی تعلیم و تربیت کا بہت اچھا انتظام کیا تھا ۔

جب بھرام بڑا ہوگیا اور اس نے عالم شباب میں قدم رکھا تو اسے شکار کھیلنے کا شوق پیدا ہوا اور وہ ہر وقت شکار کھیلنے جایا کرتا تھا ۔ وہ ایک بڑا اعلیٰ شہسوار تھا ۔ ایک دن وہ بندوق لے کر گھوڑے پر سوار ہوا اور شکار کھیلنے نکل گیا ۔

وہ چلتا رہا، چلتا رہا، یہاں تک کہ ایک جنگل میں جا پہونچا ۔ وہ سارے جنگل میں پھرا اور ہر طرف تلاش کرتا رہا، لیکن اس کو کوئی شکار نہ ملا ۔ شام کا وقت تھا سورج غروب ہونے والا

بلوچی

ات که راهٔ نیمگءَ آئیا یک بانے
دیست وتی اسپءِ سرءَ تاب دات او
هما بانے نیمگءَ شت ۔ دست تنکه
یک نما شین مردءَ ۔ که آوخت آ
مکانءَ تہا روت کندگ و قہقہہ
جنگءَ لگیت و وختءِ ڈنا کیت
گریوگءَ لگیت ۔ اءِ پیرین مردءِ
حالءَ دست سک حیران بوت ۔
آوتی اسپءَ چه ایر رتک او
مردءَ گورءَ شت ۔ آباز گوں دلیریءَ
پیرءِ مردءَ را پرست که اءَ چه
گپءَ که تو وختءِ بانءَ تہا
روے کندگءَ لگتءَ او ڈنا کاهءَ
گریوگءَ لگتءِ ۔ مردءَ جواب
دات تو منا جست مکن وتی راهءَ
گرو برو ۔ بلے آ یک بادشاه
زادهءَ ات ۔ آئیا پیرءَ مردءَ اءَ
گپءَ پرواه نه کت او پدا جستءَ
کت ۔ پیرءَ مردا درائنٹ که اے
جوان تو منا اءَ جستءَ مکن ۔
من ترا نه گوشن گوں ۔ بہرام نوں
ضد کت او گوشتءِ که آخر چه

اردو

تھا ۔ اس نوجوان نے اپنے گھوڑے
کا رخ گھر کی طرف پھیر دیا ۔
راستے میں اس کی نظر ایک مکان
پر جا پڑی بس وہ اس کی طرف
چلا گیا ۔ وہاں کیا دیکھتا ھے کہ
ایک بوڑھا آدمی ھے جب وہ مکان
کے اندر جاتا ھے تو ھنسنے لگتا
ھے اور قہقہے مارتا ھے اور جب
باھر نکلتا ھے تو زار و قطار رونے
لگتا ھے ۔

جب اس نے اس بوڑھے کی
یہ حالت دیکھی تو وہ حیرت میں
ڈوب گیا اور اپنے گھوڑے سے
اتر کر بوڑھے آدمی کے پاس گیا ۔
اور بڑی جرائت کے ساتھ اس سے
پوچھا یہ کیا ماجرا ھے ؟ جب تم
مکان کے اندر جاتے ھو تو ھنسنے
لگتے ھو اور باھر نکل کر رونا
شروع کر دیتے ھو ۔ اس بوڑھے
نے جواب دیا ۔ تمہیں مجھ سے
کیا سروکار میاں ! تم اپنا راستہ لو،
لیکن وہ شہزادہ ھی تو تھا، اس
لئے اس نے بوڑھے کی بات کی کوئی
پروا نہ کی اور پھر پوچھ بیٹھا ۔
بوڑھے نے جواب دیا ۔ اے نوجوان
تم مجھ سے اس کا قصہ مت پوچھو ۔
میں تم کو ھرگز نہیں بتاؤنگا ۔

بلوچی

گپے ۔ منا گوشے گوں بگش ارگن نا من ترا کشن ۔ پیرء مرداء گوشت منا وتی جان چہ تئی ڈولین خوبصورتین او کسانین و رناءِ جانءَ دوست تر نہ انت منا تری بکش من نہ گوشاں گوں ۔ نوں اء جوابءَ او رند بہرام مد تر حیران بوت کہ اء چونء گپے کہ اء مرد وتی مرگءَ تیار انت بلے گپء نہ گوشیت گوں۔ نوں آئیا زانت کہ ضلور یک رازء است انت ۔ خیر بہرامء پیرء مردء را مجبور کت پیرء مردءَ بہرام را گوشت کہ اء بانءِ تہا یک بتء است ات ۔ اء بت یک جنکءِ اے گنت او جنک مزنین خوبصورتء ۔ او لائقء تو انت ۔ بلے ایشئے رسگ ترا مشکل انت پرچہ کہ ایشیءِ واسطہ صدھاں شر رنگ و کسان ذاتین ورنا کشگ بوتنت ۔ ہمیشءِ من وختء بانء تہا روں ۔ او جنکءِ حسنء

اردو

بہرام بھی اڑ گیا اور کہنے لگا بتادو ورنہ تمہیں جان سے مار ڈالونگا ۔ بوڑھے نے جواب دیا کہ مجھے اپنی جان تم جیسے نوجوان کی جان سے زیادہ پیاری نہیں ہے۔ چاہو مجھے مار ڈالو لیکن میں بتاؤنگا تو ہرگز نہیں ۔ بوڑھے کا یہ جواب سنکر بہرام اور بھی ششدر ہوا ۔ سوچنے لگا کہ اس میں ضرور کوئی گہرا راز ہے جب ھی تو یہ بوڑھا جان دینے کو تیار ہے لیکن اپنی اس عجیب و غریب روش کی وجہ بتانے کو تیار نہیں ۔

جب بہرام نے بوڑھے کو بہت مجبور کیا تو بوڑھے نے بہرام کو بتایا کہ اس مکان کے اندر ایک تصویر ہے اور وہ تصویر ایک خوبصورت اور حسین لڑکی کی ہے لیکن اس سے ملنا بہت مشکل ہے کیونکہ اس کے لئے سینکڑوں خوبصورت اور کم سن نوجوان اپنی جان کی بازی لگا چکے ہیں۔ لیکن وہ نہیں حاصل ہو سکی۔ اس لئے جب میں مکان کے اندر جاتا ہوں تو لڑکی کا حسن دیکھ کر بے اختیار ہنستا ہوں اور

بلوچی

گندن کندن او وختءِ ڈنا کائن
هما مرتگیں ورنه هانی ترانه کپن
گربوگ ء لگن ۔

بہرامءِ وختء پیرء مردء
گپ اش کتنت ۔ آئیا گوشت من
اء جنکءِ سانگ کنین بلے اء
کئی جنک انت او کجا انت ۔
پیرءِ مردء گوشت که اء جنک
زنگ بارء (یک شهر ات) بادشاہ
گنگزارءِ جنک اند ۔

بہرام چه پیر مردء کرءَ
شت په وتی لوگءِ نمیگءَ شپءَ
لوگءَ رست ۔ و شت پتء گورا
او حالء دات که منا مروچی شکار
دپ نه کپتگ من پوشی مکمل
تیاری کنین او رئین ۔ بادشاہء
گوشت شر انت ۔ سے می روچےءَ
بہرامء یک هر حینءِ زر و سہر ۔
وتی زحم و توپگ زرت انت
او اسپءَ سوار بوت دیم په جنگلءَ
شت وتی مات و پتانءَ رخصتء
کت ۔ بہرام چه لوگءَ درکت

اردو

جب باہر آتا ہوں تو ان خوبصورت
نوجوانون کی یاد سے جو اس کی
خاطر موت کے گھاٹ اتار دئے
گئے ہیں، رونے لگتا ہوں۔

جب بہرام نے بوڑھے کی
باتیں سنیں تو اس کے دل میں
بھی لڑکی کی محبت پیدا ہوگئی ۔
کہنے لگا کہ میں اس سے ضرور
شادی کرونگا ۔ پھر اس نے بوڑھے
سے پوچھا کہ یہ کس کی لڑکی
ہے اور کہاں رہتی ہے ۔ بوڑھے
نے بتایا کہ یہ لڑکی زنگبار
(ایک شہر ہے) کے بادشاہ گنگزار
کی شہزادی ہے۔ اس کے بعد بہرام
بوڑھے سے رخصت ہوکر گھر کی
طرف چلدیا ۔ وہ رات کو گھر
پہنچا اور سیدھا باپ کے پاس گیا
اور کہنے لگا کہ آج مجھے شکار
نہیں ملا ۔ میں پرسوں پوری
تیاری کر کے پھر شکار کھیلنے
جاؤنگا ۔ بادشاہ نے کہا بہت
اچھا ۔

تیسرے دن بہرام نے ایک
تھیلہ لیا، بہت سا سونا چاندی
لیا، اپنی تلوار اور بندوق لی اور
والدین سے رخصت ہوکر جنگل
کی راہ پکڑی، اس نے گھوڑے

بلوچی

وتی اسپۓ زراب دات او جی شاہۓ
ولائت بوت - شت شت سرء پہ
یک بیابانۓ ء کپت - دستۓ یک
مردۓ راہ سرا نشتگ - مردۓ را
جستۓ کہ تو کئے - مردۓ جواب
دات تو منا بل - تو کئے - گوشتۓ
منی نام بہرام انت من زنگ بارۓ
روگۓ ین پہ زنگ بارۓ بادشاہۓ
جنکۓ گندگۓ او سانگ کنگۓ -
مردۓ گوشت تو روئے بلے بچار
یک جاکہہۓ کیت انت کہ
کشک دو بنت - یکء راستین
دستۓ ذوت رو دومی چپین دستۓ
روت - راستین دستۓ کشک سک
لک و وش انت - بلے چپین دستۓ
کشک سک دراجے و یک درین
مشکل و جنجال انت - چمیشء
توراستین دستء برو - بہرام گوشت
شر انت - وتی اسپۓ رۓ کٹرحیء
کت - شت ھی مردء گوشگۓ
پدۓ دو کشک بو تنت - آ اوش
تات او حیال کنگۓ لگت -

اردو

کو ایڑی لگائی اور دیوانہ وار
گھوڑے کو دوڑانے لگا - چلتے
چلتے وہ ایک ریگستان میں پہنچا
وہاں کیا دیکھتا ھے کہ ایک
آدمی راہ پر بیٹھا ھوا ھے - بہرام
نے آدمی سے پوچھا کہ تم کون
ھو، اس نے جواب دیا تمہیں
مجھ سے کیا، تم اپنا راستہ پکڑو-
اس نے کہا میں بہرام ھوں -
زنگبار (وہ شہر جہاں گل
اندام رہتی ھے) جا رہا ھوں -
اس آدمی نے کہا تم جا تو رہے
ھو لیکن دیکھو! تھوڑی دور
جا کر تمہیں دو راستے ملیں گے
ایک راستہ دھنی طرف اور دوسرا
بائیں طرف کو جاتا ھے - دھنی طرف
کا راستہ بڑا اچھا اور صاف ھے - لیکن
بائیں طرف کا راستہ بہت سخت
اور دشوار ھے - اس لئے تم دھنے
راستہ کی طرف جانا - بہرام نے
کہا بہت اچھا -

بہرام نے اپنے گھوڑے کو
چابک ماری اور اس آدمی سے
رخصت ھوا، تھوڑی دور جا کر
اس نے آدمی کے کہنے کے مطابق
دو راستے دیکھے، وہ ذرا دیر کے
لئے ٹھہرا اور سوچنے لگا - پھر اپنے

بلوچی

گوشتۓ که من چپیں دستۓ رئین با رین اء نیمگ په سهت ۔ وتی اسپءسرء په چپیں کشکۓ تاب دات ۔ دور نه شتگ ات که یک مزنین باغۓ دستۓ ۔ نون آ سک شدیک انت او اسپۓ هم‌دم بر تگۓ ات ۔

وختۓ باغ کرۓ رست وتی اسپء داشت او ایراتک ۔ باغۓ دپء اوکتاشت وتی اسپء پچ کت اسپتء لتا یله دات او وت نیوگۓ سندگ و ورگۓ لگت۔ ساعتۓ بعد باغیان اتک بهرامۓ را گوشتۓ که اے ورنا تو په کسۓ ات که ادا رنکگۓ۔ اء باغ هفت بلاهانی انت رو شهرۓ بغیرء چه همۓ بلاهان و منا دگر کس بنی آدم نیست ۔ درستین مردم همء بلاهان کشتگ و وارتگ‌انت۔ جلدی بکن یه اۓ باغۓ در آ او برو ۔ بهرام گوشت که من یک بلوچ ور ناء او هن من چه بلاهان

اردو

آپ سے کہنے لگا۔ دیکھوں اس طرف کیا چیز ہے ۔ چنانچہ اس نے گھوڑے کا رخ اس طرف کو پھیرا اور روانہ ہو گیا ، وہ ابھی زیادہ دور نہیں گیا تھا کہ ایک بڑا سر سبز و شاداب باغ نظر آیا ، اب اسکو زور کی بھوک لگ رہی تھی اور اسکا گھوڑا بھی تھک گیا تھا ۔ چنانچہ وہ باغ کے قریب آ کر رک گیا اور گھوڑے سے اتر پڑا ۔ اس نے باغ کا دروازہ کھولا اور اندر چلا گیا اور اپنا گھوڑا لہسن کے کھیت میں چھوڑ کر خود میوہ توڑ توڑ کر کھانے لگا ۔

چند منٹ کے بعد وہاں باغ کا مالی آ گیا اور بہرام سے پوچھنے لگا ۔ اے نوجوان تم کون ہو؟ جو یہاں آئے ہو ۔ یہ باغ سات بھوتوں کا ہے اور یہاں سوائے میرے اور ان بھوتوں کے اور کوئی نہیں، سب کو ان بھوتوں نے مار ڈالا ہے ، اگر تمکو اپنی جان عزیز ہے تو جلدی باغ سے نکل جاؤ اور جہاں جی چاہے بھاگ جاؤ۔

بہرام نے جواب دیا میں ایک بلوچ نوجوان ہوں ۔ مجھے

بلوچی

همۓ نه ترسن - بل تئی بلاهاں
که کاهنت - باغپانۓ اء جواب
هش کهت حیران بوت -

بهرامء دگر جواب نه دات او
شت هما تهت که باغء تها ایر
ات سرا تچک بوت - اسپ چرگء
لگت - یک شرین ساعتیۓ رند یک
زرنشتۓ بوت - بهرام پاد اتک
وتی زهمۓ چه جپتۓ کشت او تیار
بوت - دستۓ تنکه یک بلاهۓ باغۓ
پوترت هنچو که بلاه باغۓ پترت
گوشتۓ بوۓ بوء آدمی - اگا چمۓ
په بهرامۓ کپت - اتک په بهرامۓ
ورگۓ بهرام هم چه وتی جا کهءء
پاد اتک او په بلاهۓ نمیگء شت -
بلاهء گوشت تو کئے ؟ بهرام جواب
دات من بلوچ ورناۓ ئن - منی نام
بهرام انت - بلاهء گوشت تو
مروچی منی حرزبند ات - بهرامء
گوشت من بزۓ نه هن من گو
تو مڈن گون - هر کس که جنگ
بوت هما دو میۓ غلام انت -

اردو

بھوتوں سے کوئی ڈر نہیں لگتا -
اپنے بھوتوں کو آنے دو - مالی
یہ جواب سنکر انگشت بدندان
رہ گیا، بہرام بھی خاموش ہو کر
اس بسترے پر جو باغ کے اندر
بچھا ہوا تھا لیٹ گیا - گھوڑا
کھیت میں گھاس چرتا رہا -

تھوڑی دیر بعد ہیبتناک
آواز آئی - بہرام بستر سے اٹھ بیٹھا
اور اپنی تلوار نیام سے نکال کھڑا
ہو گیا اب کیا دیکھتا ہے کہ ایک
دیو باغ میں داخل ہوا اور خود
بخود کہتا جا رہا ہے آج تو انسان کی
بوء آ رہی ہے - اچانک اس کی
نظر بہرام پر جا پڑی اور وہ
بہرام کو کھا جانے کے لئے اسکی
طرف بڑھا - بہرام بھی اس کی
طرف بڑھا ، دیو نے پوچھا تم
کون ہو؟ بہرام نے جواب دیا
میں ایک بلوچ نوجوان ہوں
مجھے بہرام کہتے ہیں - دیو
کہنے لگا بہت اچھا - آج تم
میرے لئے صبح کا ناشتہ بنو ،
اس نے کہا میں بکری نہیں
ہوں جو ناشتے کا کام دوں - میں
تم سے آخری دم تک لڑونگا اور
جو لڑائی میں شکست کھائے وہ

بلوچی

بلاہء گوشت شرئین ۔ بہرام و
بلاہ بند مڈ تنت ۔ قدرتان خدائی
بہرامء بلاہء را چیرگء کت ۔
ھنچو گپتء دست و پادء بست
انت او دوردات ۔ چہ اشیء رند
دگر بلاہء اتک بہرامء دو می
آرء ھم گپت و بست ۔ ھمء
ڈولء درسین ھر ھفتھن بلاہء
گپت و بست انت ۔

بلاھان گوشت ماھر درس
تئی غلام ان ۔ ھرچی کنے بکن
بہرامء استخارا من نہ کشن شما
آزاد ات بلے منا ھر چے کارء
بیت منی مدتء بکنت ۔ درسین
بلاھان گوشت ما حاضر انت ۔

بہرامء بلاھان را آذات کت
او گوشتنتء کہ من گنگزار
بادشاہء دتگ گل اندامء واسطہ
زنگ بارء روگء ئن ۔ شما منی
ھم راہ بیت ۔ آ ھان گوشت
شر ئن ۔ خیر دو می روچےء بہرام
گون وتی ھفتین غلامان دیم پہ

اردو

پھر دوسرے کا غلام بنے گا ۔ دیو
راضی ہو گیا ۔ دونوں لڑنے لگے ۔
خوش قسمتی سے بہرام نے دیو
کو پچھاڑ دیا ۔ اسکو گراتے ھی
بہرام نے اسکے ھاتھ پیر باندھ
کر زمین پر لٹا دیا ۔ اسکے بعد
دوسرا دیو آیا ۔ اسی طرح بہرام
نے اس کے بھی ھاتھ پیر باندھ
کر زمین پر لٹا دیا اور اس طرح
ایک ایک کر کے اس نے سات
(دیوؤں) کو شکست دی ۔ دیو
کہنے لگے ہم سب آپ کے
غلام ھیں جو چاھیں آپ کرسکتے
ھیں ۔ بہرام نے کہا میں تم
لوگوں کو جان سے نہیں ماروں
گا ۔ بس جب مجھے ضرورت پڑے
تو تم میری مدد کر دیا کرنا ۔
سب نے ایک زبان ہو کر جواب
دیا ہم حاضر ھیں ۔ بہرام نے
سب دیووں یا بھوتوں کو آزاد
کر دیا اور ان سے کہا کہ میں
بادشاہ گنگزار کی لڑکی گل اندام
کو حاصل کرنے کے لئے زنگ بار جا
رہا ہوں تم میرے ھمراہ رھو سب
نے بات مان لی ۔ اس کے دوسرے
دن بہرام اپنے ان ساتوں غلاموں
کے ساتھ زنگ بار روانہ ہو گیا

بلوچی

زنگ بار شت - پنچ روچےءَ رند بہرام گون وتی غلامان (زنگ بار) رست -

وختءِ کہ زنگ بارءَ شت تو دستءِ کہ اودءَ یک مزنین میٹریٔ ات او ماڑیءِ چیرءَ میٹرہ و مچتی انت - قسم قسمءِ ورنا و جوان اوشتا تگ او برزءِ چارگءَ انت -

بہرامءَ وتی غلامان گوشت کہ نون شمارا اجازت انت - ہرچے وقتءِ منا کار کپت شما را لوٹائینءَ - درسین غلامان یک پٹءِ دات او بہرامءَ راگوشتش کہ وختے ترا کار کپت تو مے پٹءَ بوسوچ ما حاضر من - بہرامءَ گوشت شر انت - بہرامءَ وتی اسپ جنگلءَ یلہ دات او وت یک پیرین بلکءِ اے کرءَ شت او جستءِ کت کہ اے ماڑی کئی انت - پیرین زالءَ گوشت کہ اے ماڑی بادشاہ جنک گل اندامءِ گنت - آ ہر بیگاہ وتی

اردو

اور متواتر پانچ دن تک سفر کرنے کے بعد وہاں یعنی زنگ بار جا پہونچا - جب وہاں پہنچا تو کیا دیکھتا ہے کہ ایک عالیشان عمارت ہے اور اسکے نیچے لوگوں کا کا مجمع ہے - مختلف شکل وقد کے نوجوان کھڑے اوپر دیکھ رہے ہیں -

بہرام نے اپنے غلاموں کو رخصت کیا اور کہا کہ اب تم لوگ جا سکتے ہو - جب مجھے ضرورت ہوگی تو تمہیں بلا لونگا - سب غلاموں نے اپنا ایک ایک بال بہرام کو دیدیا اور کہا کہ جب آپ ہم کو بلانا چاہیں تو ہمارا بال جلائیں ہم حاضر ہو جائیں گے - بہرام نے کہا بہت اچھا - اب اس نے اپنا گھوڑا جنگل میں چھوڑ دیا اور خود ایک بوڑھی عورت کے پاس گیا اور اس سے پوچھا کہ یہ عمارت کس کی ہے؟ بوڑھی نے اس کو بتایا کہ یہ عمارت یہاں کے بادشاہ کی لڑکی (گل اندام) کی ہے - وہ ہر شام اپنی عمارت کی اوپر کی منزل پر بیٹھ کر شہر کی سیر کرتی ہے اور یہ نیچے کھڑے ہوئے نوجوان

بلوچی

ماڑیء سرا کیت او اوش تت او اء ورنا کہ چیرء ھنت آئے عاشق انت بلے آ ھمء کسء گونء سانگ کنت کہ آئے چیزء شرطان پورہ بکنت ۔

بہرامء پیرء زالء را لہتیں سہر و زر دات او گوشتء منا وتی لوگء جاگہ بدہ پیر زال وش بوت او بہرامء را وتی لوگء جاگہء دات ۔

دومی روچء بہرام شت ھما ماڑیء چیرء او گل اندامء آھگء انتظارء کت ۔ گل اندام وتی عادتء پدا بیگاہء وختء وتی ماڑیء سرا اتک ۔ او چہلء سیل کنگء لگت ۔ بہرامء کہ گل اندامء شکل و صورت دست گنوگ بوت قدرتاں جنکء (گل اندامء) چم پہ بہرامء کپت جنک ھم آ وتی نظرء بہرام آسکی ٹیلگ او بلاھین قدء عاشق بوت ۔

بہرامء دومی روچء وتی قاصد

اردو

اس کے عاشق ہیں ۔ لیکن وہ کہتی ہے میں اس نوجوان سے شادی کرونگی جو میری چند شرائط پوری کرنے میں کامیاب ہوگا ۔

بہرام نے بوڑھی عورت کو کچھ روپیہ پیسہ دیا اور کہا کہ مجھے اپنے گھر میں چند دن کے لئے رہنے کی اجازت دو۔ بوڑھی روپیہ دیکھ کر بہت خوش ہوئی اور بہرام کے لئے اپنے گھر میں جگہ کا انتظام کر دیا ۔ اس کے دوسرے دن بہرام اس عمارت کے نیچے جا کر کھڑا ہوا اور شام تک گل اندام کے آنے کا انتظار کرتا رہا ۔ گل اندام اپنی عادت کے مطابق شام کے وقت عمارت کی اوپری منزل پر آئی اور نیچے کا منظر دیکھنے لگی ۔ جب بہرام کی نظر اس کے خوبصورت اور دلربا چہرے پر پڑی تو وہ اپنے حواس کھو بیٹھا اور دیوانہ سا ہو گیا ۔ اچانک گل اندام کی نظر بھی بہرام پر پڑی ۔ بہرام بھی بڑا خوبصورت اور شکیل نوجوان تھا ۔ چنانچہ جب لڑکی کی نظر بہرام کی غزالی آنکھوں اور خوبصورت چہرے پر پڑی تو وہ بھی اس پر

بلوچی

په بادشاهٔ دیم دات که منا زامات بکن ۔ بادشاهٔ گوشت تو بیا منا دو چار بکپ ۔ بهرام شت بادشاهٔ دچار کپت ۔ بادشاه گوشت که من ترا هنچو زامات کنی که تو منی شرطان پوره بکنے ۔

بهرام جواب دات بگش۔ بادشاه گوشت که اگن تو منی شرطانٔ پوره کت وا تو منی زامات ات ۔ اگن ناگڑا من ترا دو را کشیں بهرام راضی بوت ۔ بادشاه اع شرط پیش کت انت ۔

(۱) اولی شرط ایش ات که بهرام گوں گل اندامٔ اسپ تاچی بکنت ۔ (۲) دومی شرط ایش ات که بهرام یک آهنٔ لهتگء آئیا په زحم بو پروشیت ۔ (۳) سئی می شرط ایش ات که بادشاهء یک شیرءِ است گرائی په زحم جنگ بکنت ۔ بهرام شرطانء قبول کت ۔

اندگه صحبء اعلان بوت که بهرام گون گل اندامء اسپ

اردو

ہزار جان سے عاشق ہو گئی ۔

دوسرے دن بہرام نے لڑکی کے والد بادشاہ کے نام شادی کا پیغام بیجھا ۔ بادشاہ نے کہا کہ سب سے پہلے میں تم سے ملنا چاہتا ہوں ۔ بہرام بادشاہ کے حکم کے مطابق اس سے ملنے گیا ۔ ملاقات کے وقت بادشاہ نے بہرام کو بتایا کہ پہلے تمہیں میری چند شرطیں پوری کرنے ہونگی ۔ پھر تمہاری شادی ہو سکیگی ۔ بہرام نے شرائط پوچھے ۔ بادشاہ نے شرائط بتانے سے پہلے بہرام کو بتایا کہ اگر تم نے شرائط پوری کردیں تو تمہاری شادی گل اندام سے ہو جائیگی اور اگر تم شرائط پوری کرنے میں ناکام ہوئے تو میں تمہیں پھانسی دے دونگا ۔ بہرام راضی ہوگیا ۔ چنانچہ بادشاہ نے حسب ذیل شرائط پیش کیں ۔ (۱) پہلی شرط یہ ہے کہ بہرام گل اندام سے گھوڑے سواری کا مقابلہ کرے ۔ (۲) دوسری شرط یہ ہے کہ بہرام ایک لوہے کے دروازہ کو تلوار سے دو ٹکڑے کرے ۔ (۳) تیسری شرط یہ ہے کہ بہرام ایک شیر

بلوچی

تاچی کنت ۔ تمامین شہرءِ چار
چنگ بوت کہ مروچی ہر کس
پہ نظارہءِ بیت ۔

بہرامءِ وتی اسپءِ را زین
تیار کت ۔ جنک ہم میدانءِ
دراتک ۔ بہرامءِ او جنکءِ وتی
اسپانءِ جگ کت ۔ کرنہا توار کت ۔
ایشان وتی اسپانی سریلہ دات ۔
تاں شریں حدءِ ہر دو کفی اسپ
جگیءِ روگءِ اتنت ۔ بلے اگانہ
بہرامءِ اسپ گوست ۔ او جنک
(گل اندام) پش کپتا ۔ بہرامءِ
اء شرط برت ۔

(۲) دومی شرط اند گہ روچہءِ
بوت ۔ بہرامءِ شپءِ وتی غلامءِ
پٹءِ را بن دات آ ہماں عتءِ
رست ۔

بہرامءِ گوشت باندہ شپ منا
گون بادشاہءِ شیرءِ جنگ کنگی
انت ۔ تو منی مدتءِ بکن ۔ غلام
گوشت تیار ۔ خیر دومی شپءِ
بہرامءِ رایک باغءِ توکءِ برتش

اردو

سے جو کہ بادشاہ کا اپنا پالا ہوا
ہے تلوار سے لڑے۔

بہرام نے تینوں شرائط قبول
کر لیں ۔ چنانچہ دوسری صبح
کو اعلان ہوا کہ بہرام گل اندام
سے گھوڑے سواری کا مقابلہ کرے
گا ۔ سارے شہر میں اعلان کیا
گیا کہ آج ہر ایک مقابلہ دیکھنے
کے لئے آئے ۔ بہرام جنگل سے اپنا
گھوڑا لایا ۔ لڑکی بھی گھوڑ
دوڑ کے میدان میں آ گئی ۔ بہرام
اور لڑکی کے گھوڑے خط روانگی
(Starting line) پر کھڑے کئے
گئے اور سیٹی بجائی گئی۔ دونوں
گھوڑے دوڑنے لگے ۔ کافی دور
تک دونوں کے گھوڑے برابر برابر
دوڑتے رہے ۔ لیکن اچانک بہرام
کا گھوڑا آگے نکل گیا اور گل اندام
اپنے گھوڑے کے ساتھ پیچھے رہ
گئی اور بہرام جیت گیا ۔ دوسری
شرط دوسرے دن کے لئے رکھی
گئی ۔ بہرام نے رات کو اپنے
ایک غلام کا بال جلایا ۔ وہ اسی
وقت حاضر ہو گیا ۔ بہرام نے
اس کو بتایا کہ کل رات مجھے
ایک شیر سے لڑنا ہے تم میرے مدد
کرو ۔ غلام نے کہا بہت اچھا۔

بلوچی

او گوشتش که ماروں شیر هم ءِ
باغ ءِ توک ءَ انت ۔ صحب ءِ سرا
بعد به شمر چارگ ءَ کاهن ۔ بهرام ءَ
گوشت شر انت ۔ بهرام ءَ وتی
غلاما را زرت او شت پما باغ ءَ ۔
بهرام اء غلام بلاء ات ۔ آیئے
دیم ءَ شیر هچے ءِ نه ات ۔ بس
وختے شیر چه وتی پنجرء دراتک
ات و بلا دیم په دیم بو تنت
بلاها شیرء را کشت ۔

بهرام ءَ شت شیر ءِ گردن په
زهم جت او پنجگ بر ات نون
بلاء ءَ را اجازت ءِ دات وت هموده
وپت ۔ دو می صحب ءَ بادشاه گوں
وتی مردمان اتک ۔ بهرام شیر ءِ
پنجگ او جون پیش داش تنت
بزان بهرام ءَ دو شرط پوره کت
نون سے می ءِ باری انت ۔ سے می
شرط آهن ءِ لهتگ پیروشگ ات ۔
بهرام ءَ وتی زهم زرت او لهتگ ءَ
را دو جاگه کت ۔ اء ڈول ءَ
پر سه شرط پوره بوتنت ۔ بادشاه

اردو

پس دوسرے دن رات کو بادشاہ
کے آدمی بہرام کو ایک باغ میں
لے گئے ۔ اسے بتایا گیا کہ ہم
ابھی جاتے ہیں شیر اسی باغ میں
ہے تم جانو اور وہ ۔ ہم صبح سویرے
حال معلوم کرنے آئینگے ۔ بہرام
نے کہا تم جا سکتے ہو ۔ اس
کے بعد بہرام نے اپنے غلام کو
بلایا اور باغ کے اندر داخل ہو
گیا ۔ بہرام کا غلام چونکہ ایک
دیو تھا اس لئے اسکے مقابلہ میں
شیر کی کوئی ہستی نہ تھی ۔
چنانچہ جب شیر اپنے پنجرے سے
نکلا تو وہ اور دیو آمنے سامنے
ہوئے دیو (بہرام کے غلام) نے
شیر کو گرادیا اور مار ڈالا ۔

اس کے بعد بہرام اس کے قریب
گیا اور شیر کا سر اپنی تلوار سے جدا
کردیا اور اسکا پنجہ بھی نشانی
کے لئے کاٹ ڈالا اور اپنے غلام
کو جانے کی اجازت دیدی اور
خود باغ ہی میں سو گیا ۔ دوسرے
دن بادشاہ اپنے آدمیوں کے ساتھ
وہاں آیا ۔ بہرام نے شیر کا پنجہ
اور اسکی لاش بادشاہ کو دکھائی ۔
اس طرح سے بادشاہ کی دو شرطیں
پوری ہو گئیں، اب تیسری کی باری

بلوچی

گل بوت - جنک (گل اندام) چہ گلءَ زمینءَ نہ زرت -

سورءِ ڈھل و سرناھان توار کت - بادشاہءَ اعلان کت کہ بہرام منی زامات انت و پلان روچےءَ سور انت - بہرامءَ را وتی شاھی محلءَ جاگہءِ دات - بس سورءِ مقرر کتگیں روچےءَ بہرامءِ او جنکءِ (گل اندام) سور بوت -

اء ڈولءَ چنچو سختی و مصیبتءَ رند بہرامءَ وتی محبوب رست - چہ اء قصہءَ بہرامءِ بہادری او ہمت صاف ظاھر انت - آیئے بے ترسی او استقلال ھیچ وخت بے حیال کنگ نہ بیت -

اردو

آئی - تیسری شرط لوہے کے دروازہ کو تلوار سے دو حصے کرنا تھی - چنانچہ بہرام نے اپنی تلوار لیکر مکمل یقین اور پوری طاقت سے وار کر کے دروازہ توڑ دیا - بس اس طرح سے تینوں شرطیں پوری ہوگئیں - یہ دیکھ کر بادشاہ بہرام کی ہمت اور جوان مردی پر بہت خوش ہوا -

گل اندام یہ حال سنکر خوشی کے مارے باغ باغ ہوگئی - شادی کے شادیانے بجنے لگے اور باشاہ کی طرف سے اعلان کیا گیا کہ گل اندام کی شادی بہرام سے ہوگی پھر شادی کی تاریخ مقرر کی گئی -

اس کے بعد بہرام کو شاہی محل میں جگہ دیدی گئی - چنانچہ مقرر تاریخ پر انکی شادی ہوگئی -

اس طرح بہادر اور با ہمت بہرام مصیبتوں اور آزمائشوں کے بعد اپنی محبوبہ کو حاصل کرنے اور اس سے ملنے میں کامیاب ہوگیا، اس کہانی سے اس نوجوان کی ہمت، بہادری اور استقلال صاف ظاہر ہے اور اس کو کسی زمانے میں فراموش نہیں کیا جا سکتا جب تک محبت کا نام دنیا میں رہیگا بہرام کی یاد قائم اور تازہ رہیگی -

The Rebellion of the Uzbeg Nobles in the Eastern Provinces during the reign of Emperor Akbar

By

Alamgir Mohammed Serajuddin

1. *Introduction* :—Among the nobility of the early Mughal Empire, the Uzbegs occupy a prominent position. They formed a strong family party, closely bound up by blood-relation-ship. Their selfless devotion to Emperor Akbar in the early years of his reign and the ignominous fate that betook them may be favourably compared to the illustrious family of Barmak in the service of Caliph Harun-ar-Rashid. Emperor Humayun, during the ship-wreck of his life, found in them the useful allies ; when he was wandering in search of asylum after his debacle at Chausā, the Uzbegs followed him with unflinching loyalty. After his return to India when he made the dare-devil-attempt to recover his fallen fortune, he was much assisted by them. Emperor Akbar, as we know, did not inherit an easy, undisputed throne from his father. Various disintegrating forces troubled his path and to steer clear of these, he had to wage constant warfare. And in these troublesome days, he found in the Uzbeg nobles a great helping hand. Blochman observes that next to Bairam Khān Khān Khānān the restoration of the Mughal dynasty may justly be ascribed to the Uzbegs. [1]

V. A. Smith and almost all other modern historians dealing with the life and achievements of Emperor Akbar have minimised the importance of such devoted services of the Uzbeg nobles. Therefore, the Uzbeg rebellion in the Eastern Provinces did not receive as much attention as it deserves. In the present article an attempt has been made to re-evaluate the relevant materials and to find out the causes, circumstances and results of the Uzbeg rebellion in the early years of the reign of Akbar in the Eastern Pro-

1 Āin-i-Akbarī, Vol. I, by Blochmann, published by the A. S. B. in the Bibliotheca Indica - p. 319.

vinces. The scope of the present article being thus limited, many interesting and important events, *viz.* the origin of the Uzbeg nobles, their early career, their position and status under Emperor Humayun, their military exploits under the boy-Pādshāh Akbar in his early years, the circumstances leading to the chastisement of 'Abdullah K͟hān Uzbeg in Mālwa by Emperor Akbar and other connected facts could not be dealt with at length.

2. *Sources* :—The contemporary sources dealing with the subject include, among others (i) The Āīn-i-Akbarī and (ii) the Akbarnāma of Abu-l Fazl Allāmī, (iii) The Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh of Mulla Abdu-l Qādir Badāonī, (iv) The Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī of K͟hwâja Nizām-ud-din Ahmed Bak͟hshī and (v) the Tārīkh-i-Firishtah of Muhammad Abu-l Qāsim Ferishta. The Āīn-i-Akbarī, Vol. I, contains the biographies of the Uzbeg officials, compiled by Blochmann chiefly from the Ma'āsirul Umara, with additions from other sources. The Akbarnāma, Vol. II (translated from the Persian by Henry Beviredge and published by the A. S. B. in the Bibliotheca Indica) devotes a considerable section in dealing with their rebellion. The Muntakhabt-u-Tawārīkh, Vol. II (translated by W. H. Lowe and published by the A. S. B.) also deals with the subject but Badāonī's details are based to a large extent on the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī of Nizām-ud-din Ahmed Bakhshī. The Tabaqāt-i-Akbārī, Vol. II (translated by B. De and published by the A.S.B. in the Bibliotheca Indica) treats the subject in exceptional details. The free translation of Firishtah, entitled 'History of the Rise of the Mohamedan power in India, 1829' helps us very little. Among the modern scholarly works, so far as our subject is concerned, that of V.A. Smith is hopeless, while the Cambridge Indian History (Vol. IV), is almost a copious imitation of both the Akbarnāma and the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī.

3. *The Uzbeg nobles before and at the Outbreak of the Rebellion* :— The chief members of the Uzbeg family-party were (i) 'Alī Qūlī K͟hān, (ii) Iskander K͟hān, (iii) Bahādur K͟hān, (iv) Ibrāhīm K͟hān, and (v) 'Abd-ullah K͟hān. Immediately before the outbreak of the rebellion, all these leading Uzbegs, with the

exception of 'Abd-ullah Khān were employed in the Eastern Provinces of the far-flung empire. 'Alī Qūli Khān was the most influential of all the Uzbeg chiefs. After the "Restoration" he was made the governor of Sambhal. At the time of Akbar's accession, he was engaged in chastising the unruly Afghans of that region but when he heard of the impending fall of Delhi at the hand of Himu, he advanced to join Tardi Beg, the governor of Delhi in order to offer a united resistence to Himu. But before his arrival at Delhi, Tardi Beg disgracefully retreated and 'Alī Qūli Khān then met Akbar at Sirhind. From there Akbar sent him in advance with 10,000 troopers to resist Himu. He won the decisive victory of Panipat in the year 1556, and acquired the title of Khān Zamān for his consummate military skill in the battle. He now held Jaunpur where he enjoyed almost unlimited authority. His brother Bahādur Khān who made his mark in the conquest of Mālwa and was made the Vakil, through the influence of Maham ̄nagh, after the dropping of the pilot Bairām Khān Khān Khānān, was now appointed to the Itāwah, Sirkar [1] of Agrah, in the neighbourhood of Jaunpur. Their uncle Ibrāhīm was the Jāgīrdār of Sarharpūr [2], a pargana in the Fyzabad district of Oudh. Iskander Khān was made the governor of Agrah after the "Restoration". On Himu's approach he joined Tardi Beg at Delhi and fought Himu valiantly. After Tardi Beg's disgrace, he joined Akbar at Sirhand, fought under Khān Zamān at Panipat and received the tittle of Khān Ālam for his courage and valour in the battle. He now governed Oudh [3], the most fertile and prosperous jāgīr of the empire which he received as tuyul after the second battle of Panipat. Abd-ullah Khan served under Adham Khan for sometimes. When Baz Bahādur, after the tragic end of Pir Muhammad Sirwāni had occupied Mālwa, 'Abd-ullah Khān was promoted to the rank of Pānjhāzāri and sent to Mālwa with almost unlimited power. He reconquered the Province and

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1 Āin-i-Akbarī, Vol. I, page 328.

2 Both Abu-l Fazl and Badāoni give the name Sarharpūr but in the Tabaqāt it is Sarwar.

3 Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p 376.

"reigned in Mandu lika a king". He was very soon expelled by the emperor from Mālwa "by reason of some defalcations of which he had been guilty" [1]. Eventually he took refuge with Khān Zamān at Jaunpur.

Thus we see that the Uzbegs were appointed to important stations in the Eastern Provinces. It is apparently strange that in spite of this they broke out into open rebellion. Was Akbar, by his very nature, so ungrateful a monarch as to forget so soon their services to his throne and so indiscreet a man as to drive his most powerful and loyal nobles into open rebellion? Or were the Uzbeg chiefs the innocent lambs sacrificed at the alter of Akbar's unwarranted wrath?

4. *Causes of the Rebellion* :— The original sources devote themselves to the narration of the connected events of the rebellion in exceptional details. But unfortunately none of them cared to find out its causes. From the astray remarks it is almost impossible to find out anything substantial and come to any satisfactory conclusion. Thus Nizamuddin Ahmed accuses individual Uzbeg chiefs of the lack of foresight and of doing "certain improper acts" and concludes that "His Majesty the Emperor formed in his mind a somewhat bad opinion of the Uzbeg tribe"[2]. Badāonī only plays the second fiddle to Nizāmu-d-din Ahmed when he says, "After the rebellion of 'Abd-ullah Khān Uzbeg; suspicion of the whole Uzbeg tribe found access to the Emperor's mind". [3] All these, however, are too vague and too general terms to offer us any clear explanation. That the Uzbegs - and why the Uzbegs alone? any weak force against a superior one—were not foresighted in engineering the upheavel is understandable; that one or two of them committed certain improper acts is acceptable and that Akbar came to cherish a bad opinion of the tribe as a whole is testified by his subsequent proceedings. But were these all?

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1 Muntekhabu-t Tawārīkh, Vol. II, p. 66 (translated by Lowe).

2 Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Vol. II, p. 294.

3 Muntekhabu-t-Tawārīkh, Vol. II, p. 75.

Abul Fazl, in his characteristic way, finds the Uzbeg nobles guilty of committing thousand mischiefs, practising deceit and hypocrisy, showing vanity and haughtiness, doing improprieties and becoming seditious. With particular reference to Khān Zamān 'Alī Qūlī Khān, he writes in a manner peculiar to him, "If a man's destiny be evil and his disposition bad, worldly success is productive in him of a thousand mischiefs................. His erring feet stray more and more, and he neither recognises the favours he has received nor does his duty to his benefactor............sometimes he withdraws the veil from before his actions and becomes openly as well as secretly a sedition-monger. The evil-ending career of 'Alī Qūlī Khan Zamān is an instance of this. From the commence ment of the coming into India.........he was always committing improprieties ......H. M. the Shāhinshāh.........was continually washing the record of his faults and crimes from his own pure soul with the water of forgiveness. That black-fated one did not appreciate this clemency but went on to accumulate wickedness".[1]

Here Abul-l Fazl is at his best as a successful courtier and panegyrist. All this makes a pleasant reading but perhaps bad history. So we must accept this with due preservations. The devil does not appear to be as black as it is painted. Khān Zamān had obvious faults of character and disposition but not so much as the Abul-Fazl makes us believe. The responsibility for the outbreak of the rebellion was a divided responsibility. Khān Zamān was guilty no doubt, but Abu-l Fazl's bero was no less.

On the basis of the above contemporary sources no definite conclusion can be drawn. Let us see how far the modern scholars can help us.

V. A. Smith in his attempt to ascertain the causes of the rebellion observes, "The leading adventures who had helped Humayun and Akbar to recover the throne of Hindustan did not readily settle down to the position of mere noble men in an ordered kingdom. They all cherished personal ambitions for sovereign

[1] Akbarnāma, Vol. II, page 375.

power and were constantly breaking into rebellion".[1] Thus he tends to attribute the cause to their "personal ambitions for sovereign power". This, however, only partly accounts for the rebellion and does not explain the whole. A historical situation is the results of numerous forces working together. It is in the background of various historical processes that precede vital historical actions or decisions that we must seek the causes.

The next modern scholar to discuss the causes of the rebellion is Sir Wolsely Haig. In his "Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV",[2] he develops three main points. In the first place, that the Uzbegs regarded their retention in the Eastern Provinces as a kind of banishment from court where the Persians and others were promoted to highest posts[3]. Secondly, that "Their isolation, while it aroused their resentment, was favourable to the growth of a spirit of independence, for the expenses of their military establishments furnished them with a pretext for not contributing to the imperial exchequer"[4]. And thirdly, that Akbar once indiscreetly remarked that the Uzbegs were at the root of all the troubles and misfortunes that betook his father Humayun.[5] As to the first point, in view of the services they had done for the restoration of the Mughal rule, once peace and order was established and Akbar firmly seated on the throne, the Uzbegs, like many other nobles, naturally desired that their services would be rewarded. Akbar tried to satisfy them by appointing them in the Eastern Provinces. But unfortunately that part of the country was still unsettled being frequently infested by the relations of the Afghan usurper, Sher Shah Sur, which demanded their constant vigilance and active military service. It is not too much to suggest that they were tried of incessant warfare and preferred a more leisurely responsibility. They expected high posts and positions in the court but the high expectation entertained by them met with frus-

1 Akbar the Great Moghul, p. 74.

2 Cambride History of India Vol. IV , p. 91.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

tration. Again, there existed intense jealousy between the Iranian and Turanian faction in the kingdom. At that time Akbar was supposed to favour the Iranian officers. The Uzbegs who belonged to the Turanian faction, deeply resented the advancement of the Persian nobility to the loaves and fishes of the court and their exclusion from royal favour. This Iranian and Turanian clique also partially accounts for the rebellion and fall of Bairam Khān Khān Khānān.

The second point of Sir Wolseley Haig also deserves consideration. The pretext of their military establishments while deprived the royal exchequer of the revenues of the most flourishing provinces, helped them to grow rich and spend lavishly to serve their own interest. In this connection another significant fact should not be overlooked. The Eastern provinces being out of the way from Delhi; the Uzbegs had no immediate superiors to exert royal authority over them. The long distance of the Eastern Provinces from the capital city made them free to entertain ambition and made it almost impossible for the emperor to bring them under effective control.

As to the third point, unfortunately the learned scholar has not given us to know the source from which he found it out. However, if Akbar had passed such a remark at all, it was ill-timed and indiscreet. It may be that Akbar made the idle remark in a jesting manner, but the Uzbegs, whose minds were already loaded with thousand grievances, had taken it in right earnest. Abu-l Fazl tells us a parallel story of how a remark made by Akbar in jest, was taken by Sakat Singh, son of Rānā Udai Singh in all seriousness.

Blochmann suggests that Iskander Khān rebelled in the 10th year of Akbar's reign "from want of occupation".[1] That his suggestion has no leg to stand upon is testified by the evidence that during the whole period preceding the rebellion, Iskander Khān was the Jâgīrdar of Oudh.

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1 Āin-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 366

Over and above those mentioned above, here we shall suggest some more causes of the rebellion from a study of different facts and circumstances connected with it.

History tells us that there existed a hereditary enmity between the Uzbegs and the Chagtiās to which latter tribe the emperor belonged. For a time, in a common interest against the Afghans and other forces this enmity was almost forgotten. But once the normal state of affairs returned, it was not unlikely that this enmity would reappear. Though 'Abd-ullah Khān of Mālwa is not known to have formally repudiated the authority of the emperor, Akbar, on the ground of mere suspicion directed an expedition against him and expelled him from Malwa. The Uzbegs naturally attributed this harsh treatment meted out to ;Abd-ullah Khān to Akbar's and more properly his tribe's hatred of the Uzbeg tribe as a whole.

We have seen earlier that the contemporary sources attribute the causes of the rebellion to the emperor's suspicion of the Uzbegs. This vague suspicion may be accounted for, by the emperor's apprehension of an invasion of Kabul by the Central Asian Uzbegs in concert with the discontented Uzbeg chiefs of India. The gradual rise to power of the Uzbegs in Mawāra-al-nahr, and the growth of their ambitions which was marked by the reoccupation of Balkh, Badakshān and Khurāsān— Akbar's ancestral lands, fully justified afterwards Akbar's premature suspicion. With the rise to power of 'Abd-ullah Khan Uzbeg in Central Asia Akbar's relation with him actually became strained as we see some years later.

The loose morality of Khān Zamān may also be taken to play a remarkable part in the subsequent developments. All our authorities agree to state that Khān Zamān became the talk of the whole country in the third year of Akbar's reign in consequence of a love scandal with Shāham Beg, a page of Humayun. On his emphathetic refusal to comply with Akbar's direction to send the page back to court, Akbar snatched away some of his tuyuls from him. It is almost certain that Akbar's proceedings against Khān

Zamān's private life irritated him very much, stirred up his wrath and later on in right time prompted him to a spirit of vangeance.

Pir Md. Shirwāni was an arch-enemy of Khān Zamān in the court-circle. When he was elevated to the position of vakil, he deprived Khān Zamān of the whole of his mohālls[1] and had him appointed commander against the Afghans who were constantly threating Jaunpur. Khān Zamān inflicted several defeats on the Afghans and carried off immense plunder and numerous elephants which he did not send to court but retained for himself. He, thus, enriched himself by the booty but he was in constant dread of the emperor's asking an account of it. When Akbar personally moved against him in the sixth year of the reign to punish him for misappropriation of war-spoils, Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādur Khān delivered the spoils but there is no denying the fact that this sarrender of their accumulated wealth was made much against their will and they could not reconcile themselves to what must have appeared to them nothing short of loot and tyranny. Under the circumstances, it was only in the fitness of things that they would meditate a revenge when time would be ripe.

The following points also may be put forward. In the first place these Uzbeg nobles were stationed in the Eastern Provinces for 6 to 7 years though the general policy was to transfer the governors in a short period. The young age of Akber coupled with the turbulent nature of the Uzbeg chiefs and the soil to which their services were called for, must have allowed the Uzbegs entertain high hopes. The fact that they refrained from sending the profits of their military establishments to the court is a sufficient testimony for scribing to them such intentions.

Lastly, another probable explanation of the rebellion may here be given. The Uzbeg chiefs, as we know, descended from the royal line of Shaibān. They were proud of their royal pedigree and they maintained all along a strong family-solidarity. Khān Zamān's descent from such a glorious and illustrious royal

1 Āin-i-Akbarī, Vol. I, p.320.

line along with his over-weaning pride and arrogance, might have pointed out to him his own fitness for empire.

(5) *Course :*—Whatever might be the causes, Akbar was convinced of the disaffection of the Uzbegs and early in 1565, issued an order that Ashraf Khān should go to Iskander Khān and induce him on promises of royal favour to come to court and take the oath of fealty to the Emperor. But the Uzbegs who had plenty of grievances against the Emperor, were resolved to stand and fall together. Iskander Khān met his relatives at Jaunpur and there in a family conclave the Uzbeg chiefs decided to take up arms and embark upon a plan of campaign. They were encouraged by the preoccupation of the Emperor with elephant hunting in a region far off from the Eastern provinces, for they said to one another, "At this time the royal cortege is far off and engaged in elephant hunting; let us form two bonds! Iskandar Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān will go to Qanauj by the route of Lucknow, and stir up strife there, and 'Ali Qūlī Khān and his brother Bahādur Khān will go by the route of Mānikpūr against Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl who is jāgīrdār there and raise the flames of sedition. In this way, perhaps we shall succeed" [1].

Ibrāhīm Khān and Iskander Khān, on their way to Kanouj, defeated the imperial officers in a hot engagement near the town of Nīmkhār[2] and compelled them to retire to the fort. 'Alī Qulī Khān and Bahādur besieged Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl at Mānikpūr. Majnūn Khān who was an experienced and tried leader, did not think it was to give battle to the overwhelming forces of Khān Zamān. He sheltered himself in the fort of Mānikpūr and summoned Āsaf Khan to his relief. Āsaf Khān, fresh from the victory of Garha Katangah[3]' joined him and both, then, Nizām-ud-din Ahmed tells us, "made a firm stand and sat down in front of the enemy"[4]. It does not become clear what they actually did. Badāonī following Nizāmuddin Ahmed's lead writes:

1 Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 376.
2 It is a town in the Sītāpur district of Oudh.
3 Gondowāna.
4 Tabaqāt, Vol. II, p. 296.

"They set down in front of Khān Zamān" ; while Fazl says, 'when the latter was emboldened by Āsaf Khān's help he frequently sent out brave men from the fort to contend with Ali Quli Khan's forces"[1]. It is however certain the the combined forces of Majnūn Khān Qāqshal and Āsaf Khān were no match for the overwhelming forces of Khān Zamān and Bahādur. When Akbar received the disquieting news, he at once despatched Mu'nim Khān Khān Khānān with a body of gallant men as an advance-force and himself left Agra with a huge army, on 24th May, 1565. He crossed the Jamna and with astounding rapidity reached Lucknow where Iskander Khān was preparing to make a stand. As the Akbarnāma[2] informs us, Iskander Khān had become so much confused on receiving the information of Akbar's surprise march that in great consternation, without giving any battle, he took to flight. Abul Fazl [3] states that the emperor sent some gallant and capable men to pursue the fugitive and that they slaughtered many soldiers of Iskander. Here Abul Fazl appears to have taken a biased attitude. In spite of Akbar's keen intention, pursuit was impossible as the horses in the imperial camp were completely exhausted, which,[4] Nizam-ud-din tells us, assisted Iskander Khān in carrying off his life in safety and reaching Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān before Mānikpūr. However, on hearing the fall of Lucknow and Akbar's forward march, Khān Zamān, hurriedly retreated across the Ganges to Hajipur and entrenched himself there.

From Hajipur, the disaffected Uzbeg officer, Khān Zamān applied for assistance to Sulaimān Karrānī, king of Bengal who was strongly attached to Khān Zamān. Akbar, fearing a hostile coalition between them, sent a messenger to Sulaimān Karrānī forbidding him, on pain of royal displeasure, from rendering any help to Khān Zamān. Incidentally the emissary was arrested in the rebel camp. Thereupon Akbar sent a second envoy to Mukund

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1 Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 377.
2 Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 399.
3 *Ibīd.*
4 Tabaqāt, Vol. II, p. 298.

Deo of Orrisa, requesting him with promises of royal favour, to attack Sulaimān in the event of the latter's rendering any assistance to the rebels. Needless to say, the Raja of Orissa readily agreed to comply with his request.

In the meantime a complication arose. Āsaf Khān misappropriated much of the treasures of Chauragarh. Abkar's court was a hot-bed of corruption and intrigue. The finance minister, Muzaffar Khān 'Alī Tarbatī expected that Āsaf Khān would share the booty with him. When he was disappointed he threatened to investigate into the misappropriation and Āsaf Khān, out of fear, suddenly fled from the royal camp on 17th September, 1565 in concert with his brothers Vizīr Khān.

Khān Zamān was encamped at Nārhan opposite to the imperial forces on the south bank of the river Gogra. With a view to creating a division of the imperial army and thus to fish in the troubled water he managed to send Bahadūr Khān and Iskander Khān to the territory [1]of. Sarwar. But Akbar was more alert and to hold the Uzbegs in check he sent Mīr Muīzz-ul-mulk to the Pargana of Khairābād. Disappointed by Akbar's vigilance, Khan Zaman thought it wise to open negotiations with his old friend, Mu'nim Khān Khān Khānān for pardon and submission. Akbar could not believe in the sincerity of the rebel, but at the request of Khān Khānān authorised Khān Khānān and Khvāja Jahan to arrange terms of peace. Nizamud-din[2] writes, "As relations of affection and friendship were strong between the two (Khān Khānān and Khān Zamān), at this time in accordance with their former relations, the doors of correspondence were opened from both sides, and it was decided that Khān Zamān should have an interview with Khān Khānān, and the terms of peace should be determined in their presence." But in spite of their "relations of affection and friendship", neither party apparently fully trusted the other. Abul Fazal[3] says that Khān Zamān was suspicious of certain "devoted heroes, who would lie in wait and finish of the

1 Badāonī calls it Sardar, N.A. Sarwār, & Sardar,A.N. Sarwar. Elliot
2 identifies it with Sarharpūr.
3 Tabaqāt, Vol. II, p. 304.
Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 385.

scoundrel", *i.e.* Khān Zamān, and so he proposd that the terms of peace should be settled by letters and messengers, but on Mu'nim's refusal to use this channel of communication, it was at last decided that the two should meet each other, with 2 or 3 trusted followers in boats in the middle of the river.

In December, 1565, Khān Zamān met the meditators in a boat in the midstream of the Ganges and patched up a reapproachment, the principal stipulation being that Khān Zamān should send his mother and uncle Ibrāhīm and the famous elephants he possessed to the court. Mu'nim Khān Khān Khānān accompanied the hostages to the court where Akbar pardoned Khān Zamān on conditions that he refrained from crossing the Ganges while the imperial troops were in the field.[1]

While the negotiations were on progress, Mīr M'uīzz-ul-mulk and Rājā Todar Mall, though well aware of it, deliberately provoked Iskander Khān and Bahādur Khān to hostilities. Their policy of aggrandisement was dictated by two principal motives. In the first place they wanted to distinguish themselves by a victory; secondly, they were envious of the Khān Khānān and attempted, by provoking Iskander and Bahādur, to discredit the the Khān Khānān in the eyes of the Emperor. But the malcontent Amirs were dissatisfied with their leadership and only fought half-heartedly. This enabled the two Uzbeg chiefs to inflict a crushing defeat on Muīzzul-mulk and Rājā Todarmall. Akbar reprimanded them for their indiscreetness and did not take thing seriously.

At the time of Mu'nīm Khān's intercession for Khān Zamān, Akbar said, "We pardon him, but it will be surprising if he remain constant in the ways of obedience".[2] His suspicious were very soon justified for Khān Zamān transgressed the conditions of his pardon by crossing the Gogra to Muhammadabad and sending

1 Tabaqāt, Vol. II, p. 309.
2 Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 394.

agents to take possession of Ghāzipur and Jaunpur. Akbar at once took the bold step of imprisoning Khān Zamān'n mother at Jaunpur and set out on 2 February, 1566 to chastise Khān Zamān. Khān Zamān on receiving the news of the emperor's advance with a mighty force, withdrew accross the Gogra to the skirts of the Sawalik[1] mountains in the Himalayas. While Akbar was returning from the futile pursuit he was given to know that Bahadur Khan, taking the advantage of the absence of the royal troops, discended upon Jaunpur, released his mother, seized Asaf Khān and plundered the city. Akbar reached Jaunpur immediately and "ordered to pursue the rebels once more"[2] and to capture their body dead or alive. On learning of Akbar's strong determination to exterminate the rebels, Khān Zamān once again appointed intermediaries to intercede for him for an unconditional surrender. Abkar once more pardoned the rebels' offences on condition that they repented their evil deeds, for he said,

> "If the offender know this truth, that every moment,
>
> What joy I have in pardoning a guilty one,
>
> He always would with deliberation offend,
>
> And would, with excuses, to me his offences bring".[3]

But we are sceptic about the quality of the emperor's pardon. It was probably dictated more by his war-weariness and insufficient number of soldiers at that time than by the spontaneity of mercy.

In the meantime, Āsaf Khān being hotly pursued by Akbar's agent, Qasim Khān took shelter with Khān Zamān and thus, as Badāonī scrathingly remarks, "Alas! he came out of the well, and fell into the snare".[4] Very soon he had cause to repent for taking this new protection. With considerable difficulty he with

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1 Badāonī. Vol. II, p. 85.
2 Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 398.
3 Tabaqāt, Vol. II, p. 314.
4 Muntakhab, Vol. II, p. 86.

his brother Vizir Khān made his escape frm Khān Zamān's camp where he had been subjected to severe military duty, to the court and was pardoned by the Emperor.

In November, 1566, Muhammad Hākim Mirza instigated by the malcontents invaded the Punjab but on the emperor's approach, he beat a hasty retreat. At Lahore, the emperor received the disturbing news of the rebellion of the disaffected Mirzas. News still more disquieting was in store for him. The Uzbeg's, being emboldened by Hākim Mirza's invasion, repudiated the peace-obligations and again revolted. They had the audacity to read the *Khutba* and strike coin in the name of Hākim Mirza[1]. We have it from Badāonī that Mulla Ghazāli, a poet of Mashhīd composed this verse :—

"In the name of the gracious and merciful God,

Muhammad Hakim is the heir of a kingdom".[2]

In their frenzy they even invited him to make a fresh attempt on the throne of Delhi. Akbar with surprising rapidity reached Agra, detached a force to deal with Iskander Khān in Oudh and himself decided to pursue Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān. Akbar's troops were tired of incessant warfare and were reluctant to embark upon a new prolonged compaign. But Akbar was resolved this time to settle matters with the Uzbegs once for all. As soon as 'Alī Qūlī Khān and Bahādur Khān heard of the expedition of the Emperor, they crossed the Ganges and fled towards Kālāpī. Our sources[3] mention that Akbar crossed the Ganges with only 11 or 15 men, which may be compared favourably to the seventeen-men-expedition to Bengal in the 13th century. Elliot's[4] version is that he accompanied some 1,000 or 5,000 men. The Uzbegs were ill-prepared to withstand a determined foe. Akbar took them by surprise and in the terrible engagement that ensued, Bahadur was taken captive. When he was brought before the Emperor, he

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1 Muntekhab, Vol. II, p. 94.
2 *Ibid.*
3 A.N., p. 428; Tabaqāt, p. 333; Muntekhab, p. 97.
4 Elliot's T. Akbarī, p. 320.

said, "Bahādur, what evil had we done to you that you have been the cause of all this strife and sedition?"[1] Bahādur bent low in shame. All the[2] contemporary sources agree that the emperor did not intend to put him to death but the Amirs did not consider it advisable that he should be allowed to live and so he was beheaded. It remains unexplained why "the Emperor did not wish to put him to death",[3] wneh we see that repeated rebellions of the Uzbegs tried his patience and immediately after the capture of Bahādur he issued an order that "Whoever brought a Mughal rebel's head should get a gold mohar and whoever brought a Hindustāni's head should get a rupi",[4] and after the war was over, he subjected the followers of the Uzbeg chiefs to inhuman torture. However, after the captivity of Bahādur a heavy elephant charge was directed and in that fierce charge, 'Alī Qulī Khān fell down from his horse. When an elephant, Harsing by name was about to trample upon him, he called out to the driver of the elephant, "I am a great man. If you take me alive to the Emperor, you will receive favours".[5] Poor Khān Zamān! perhaps he hoped against hope for his life. But the driver taking this to be a piece of nonsense talk, trampled him under the foot of the elephant or rather as Abul Fazl sarcastically remarks,[6] "under the weight of his sin and ingratitude". Thus the rebellion came to a close. Different chronicles give different names to the place where the battle was fought. Abul Fazl[7] says, "The glorious victory...took place in the territory of the village of Sakrāwāl, which is in the province of Illahābās (Allahabad). They made it a city and gave it the name of Fathpur". Nizam-ud-din Ahmed[8] states that "this victory took place in the village of Mankarwāl one of the dependencies of Josī and Piyak now known and celebrated as Illabās

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1 Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 432.
2 A.N., p. 433; Muntekhab, p. 99-100; Tabaqāt, p. 336.
3 Muntekhab, p. 99.
4 Akbarnama, Vol. II, p. 433.
5 Tabaqāt, p. 335.
6 A.N, Vol. II, p. 433.
7 A.N., p. 434.
8 Tabaqāt, p. 336.

(Allahabad)...". And Badaoni[1] supports Nizam-ud-din Ahmed's version. V.A. Smith wrongly informs us that Badaoni spells it as Ma'akarwāl[2] in Lowe, Vol. II, Page-100. In fact, in Lowe's translation (Vol. II, Page 100), the spelling is Mankarwāl. However, all these forms were intended for Mankuwār, a village about 10 miles south-west of Allahabad.[3]

When Iskander Khān heard of the disaster, he made proposals of peace and managed during the negotiations to escape with his family from Oudh where he had been so long besieged by Muhammad Qūlī Khān Barlas to Gorakpur[4] which then belonged to Sulaiman Karrāni, king of Bengal. Karrāni who wished at all hazards to beat peace with the Emperor, did not agreee to incur his displeasure by giving shelter to such a dangerous political refugee for an indefinite period. Iskander ultimately left Bengal and approached the Emperor, through Khān Khānān Mu'nim Khān Akbar pardoned him and granted him as tuyul the Sirkar of Lucknow where he breathed his last peacefully sometimes later.

(6) *Disposition of Emperor Akbar as revealed in his dealings with the Uzbegs :*—The repeated and prolonged rebellion of the Uzbeg nobles sorely tried the Emperor's patience. He was so much excited by their treacherous proceedings that one Muhammad Mīrāk Rizāvi, who had attached himself to Khān Zamān and championed the cause of the Uzbegs, when taken captive after the battle, was tortured inhumanly by means of an elephant for a considerable length of time. The Tabaqāt would make us understand that "the animal having crushed him several times, with its trunk, he was in the end pardoned, on account of his being a Saiyyad".[5] But here we can only say that the fact of his being a Saiyyad[6] did not help him very much for as the Akbarnāma itself states, "For five successive days he was brought out, and tortured in the place of execution".[7] There is none denying the fact

1 Muntekhab, Vol. II, p. 100.
2 Akbar the Great Moghul, p. 80—footnote.
3 Cunnigham-Arch. Survey Rep. X, pp. 5, 6.
4 Āīn-i-Akbarī Vol. I, p. 366.
5 Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Vol. II, p. 338.
6 Descendant of the Prophet of Islam.
7 Akbarnāma, Vol. II, p. 436.

that Emperor Akbar was immune from the love of ferocity for its own sake but at the same time this also holds true that he could display a maximum degree of cruelty once he was exasperated by obstinate and deliberate resistence to his will. The condign punishment he inflicted on the Uzbeg chiefs and their trusted followers, is a proof—if any is required— of this. Protracted opposition to his will and authority was a heinous crime to his eyes and when the opposition had been suppressed and crushed by his over-whelming force and superior strategy he was not always lenient and merciful. The brutal treatment meted out to Muhammad Mirak Rizavi is an instance of this. His harshness to a fallen foe was a defect no doubt, but this was the defect of great qualities. Again, his clemency when shown, often was dictated by policy rather than by sentiment. It was probably more from policy than from the spontaneity of mercy that he extended pardon second time to Khān Zamān and Bāhādur as we have already seen.

(7) *Significance and results* :—The Uzbeg rebellion was a dangerous threat to the very security of the empire. It was a systematic, well-directed attempt to overthrow the Emperor and had it succeeded—and there was a fair chance of its success— Akbar's throne and in all probability his person, would undoubtedly be in jeopardy. In between the second battle of Panipat of the year 1556 and the crucial year of 1581, this was the most formidable upheavel which shook the very foundation of the empire. The Mirzas broke out into open rebellion during the turmoil of the Uzbegs and that they were inspired to some extent by the rebellion of the Uzbegs is undeniable. A hostile combination of the Uzbegs and the Mirzas would have been a nightmare to Akbar. Fortunately, to the great relief of the Emperor, such a coalition could not be effected due to clashes of interests between the discontended groups. In their all-out effort to oust Akbar and frantic search for a ruler more in sympathy with them, the Uzbegs got a pliable instrument in Muhammad Hakim Mirza, Akbar's half-brother. Had the move bore fruit and had Hakim Mirza been able to capture power (a debaucher that he was), it would have been very unfortunate for India.

But thanks to emperor Akbar's alertness, the Uzbeg rebellion was utterly crushed, its ring-leaders cruelly executed and their followers brutally tortured, so that the last relic of the rebellion was uprooted. He could now deal more conveniently with the Mirzas. As to Hakim Mirza some year later (1581) he again invaded India but was thoroughly humiliated. The Uzbegs were irreparably alienated and their assignments were distributed to the royal favourites. They did never reconcile themselves to Akbar's high-handedness (they took Akbar's proceedings against them to be so). But weak, powerless and leaderless in the court as they were, they never succeeded in taking vengeance on the emperor. Ultimately the spirit of vengeance withered away.

(8) *Conclusion* :—In retrospect, what strikes us most is the fact that the Uzbegs stained the record of their life-time service and devotion by turning shamless traitors to the throne to restore which one decade ago they deemed nothing too great to sacrifice. Bairam Khān Khān Khānān also rebelled. But there is a great difference between the two rebellions. Bairam's rebellion appeals to our heart and we feel sympathy for his tragic fate. But the Uzbegs fail to evoke such sympathy in our mind. Their proceedings make them detestable to us.

Akbar's relation with Rana Partap Singh of Mewar

By

Abdul Wahhab

Gifted with the true insight of a Statesman, and liberal in outlook, tolerant at heart and broad in mind, and born under the sheltering care and protection of a Hindu, when his father, Humayun, was rambling as an exile, Akbar, 'a strong imperialist by instinct', realized the value of the Rajput friendship in his task of building up an empire in India for his dynasty, and also understood that there could be no *Mogul* Empire in India without their active help and co-operation, no social or political synthesis without their intelligence. And by his sagacious and generous policy, he actually won the hearts of most of the Rajput chiefs. But only Mewar, where the Rajput spirit and character had manifested itself "in its very quintessence" did not bow its head in obedience to the *Mogul* Emperor. A man like Akbar who cherished the ideal of an all-India empire could not endure to see Mewar as an independent country, the control of which was facilitated by the prevalence of internal discord, following the death of Rana Sanga, and by the weakness of his unworthy son, Udai Singh, and demanded by economic interests. Udai Singh died like an independent King though he lost his ancestral capital, Chitor; and at his death, his son Pratap Singh, a man of commanding genius, a born soldier and a true lover of liberty, appeared in the tumultuous scene of Mewar to continue fighting against the Mogul occupation of Chitor, and for the defence and independence of Mewar and for the regaining of Chitor, which his weak father failed disastrously to defend against the might of the imperialist and consequently retain in the Rajputs' possession. Thus, the relation between Emperor Akbar and Rana

Kīk'a[1] of Mewar, was greatly embittered, seriously strained and far from friendly.

"Rana Paertap Singh ascended to the titles and renown of an illustrious house, but without a capital, without resources, his kindred and clan dispirited by reverses".[2] This quotation illustrates clearly the position of Pratap. Enkindled by the splendid deeds of his ancestors and reading "that Chitor had more than once been the prison of their foes"[3] and exalted with the noble and brave enterprise of the recovery of Chitor, the exoneration of the honour of his house and re-establishment of its power, Pratap, who firmly believed by the noble and just reasoning that his own sincere attempts might work together with the revolutions of fortune "to overturn the unstable throne of Delhi",[4] came hurriedly into conflict with his antagonist, Akbar, who was then "immeasureably richest monarch on the face of the earth."[5] But to his utter dismay, he found that his subtle opponent was neutralising his excellent purposes by arraying against him "his kindred in faith as well as blood";[6] that is to say, the princes of Marwar, Amber, Bikaner, and even Bundi, later his firm ally, and his own brother Sagarji,[7] devoid of the high Rajput ideals of chivalry and independence, courted friendship of his adversary, the Mogul Emperor. "None but the bravest of the brave could have dared to match the chivalry of poverty-stricken Mewar against the glittering hosts of rich Hindostan."[8]

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1 Rana Pratap Singh is usually called by the Muhammadans Rana Kīka, Kīka (in Mawar Gīga. in Malwa Kuka), meaning a "Small boy". ('Ain-i-Akbari', p. 339).

2 Tod, Annals, Vol. i, p. 385

3 Tod, Annals, Vol. i, p. 385

4 Tod, Annals, Vol. i, p. 385

5 Dr. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 148.

6 Tod, Annals, Vol. i, p. 386.

7 Sagargi, Paratap's brother, held the fortress and lands of Kandahar. His descendants formed an extensive clan called 'Sagarwats' who continued to hold Kandahar till the time of Siwai Jai Singh of Amber, whose situation as one of the Satraps of the Mogul court enabled him to wrest it from Sagarji's issue, upon their refusal to intermarry with the house of Amber.

8 Dr. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 148.

The chronicles of Rajasthan relate an anecdote which illustrates the Rajput mentality of the time. On one occasion, when Raja Man Singh of Amber was returning from Sholapur campaign, he sought an interview with Rana Pratap Singh on the bank of Udayasagar lake, and was mortally offended because the Rana refused to receive him in person, or eat with him. Raja Man divined the cause of his absence, and said : "If the Rana refuses to put a plate before me, who will?" The Rana expressed his regret, and added that "he could not eat with a Rajput who gave his sister to a Toork, and who probably ate with him". Raja Man left the feast untouched 'save the few grains of rice he offered to Undeva, which he placed in his turban"[1], observing as he withdrew : "It was for the preservation of your honour that we sacrificed our own, and gave our sisters and daughters to the Toork ; but abide in peril, if such be your resolve, for this country shall not hold you," and looked towards the Rana who appeared at this sudden end of his visit and said, "If I do not humble your pride, my name is not Maun", to which Pratap gave his reply, " he should always be happy to meet him"; while somebody, in less dignified terms, felt a desire he would not forget to bring his 'Phoopa',[2] Akbar.

But no obstacle was too alarming for this national hero of Rajputana, who was made of nobler stuff than his relatives. "The magnitude of the peril confirmed the fortitude of Pratap who vowed in the words of the bard, 'to make mothers milk resplendent ; and he amply redeemed his pledge."[3] Rana Pratap Singh, who withstood the combined efforts of the empire, for a quater of a century, "at one time carrying destruction into the plains, at another flying from rock to rock, feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills, and nearing the nursling hero

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1 The Hindus, as did the Greeks and nations of antiquity, always made offering of the first portion of each meal to the gods, Annedev meaning 'the god of food'.

2 "Phoopa" is a Bengalee word, meaning the husband of the paternal aunt.

3 This clause is inaccurate rhetoric. The author comments later on 'the repose he (Pratap) enjoyed during the latter years of his life, and ascribes that repose partly to a change in Akbar's sentiments, which did not really take place. (Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul). Tod, Vol. i, p. 386.

Amra, amidst savage beasts and scarce less savage people, a fit heir to his prowess and revenge,"[1] restricted to himself and successors every article of pomp and luxury, until the emblems of her honour and glory should be set free.

The Rana, who foresaw the danger. at once took immediate measures to remodel and reorganise his government, adopting it to the emergencies of the times and to his meagre resources, and devised regulations to make his army more efficient and better equipped. He strengthened Kumbhalmer, now the seat of Government, as well as Gogunda, and other mountain fortresses, and decided to adopt the method of guerilla warfare in dealing with the Moguls. Rana Pratap enforced obedience to his stern policy, and by patriotic sevety, he made 'the garden of Rajasthan' of no value to the conqueror, and the commerce already established between the Moghul court and Europe, carried through Mewar from Surat and other parts, was cut off and plundered.

After the loss of Chitor, Rana Pratap constructed "a town called Kokanda,[2] with fine houses and gardens, in the mountains of Hinduwara. There he passed his days in rebellion"[3]. And "His Majesty's mind was always intent upon clearing the land of Hindustan from the troubles and disturbances created by infidels and evil men"[4]. According to Nizamuddin Bakhshi, Akbar was perfectly right to think in the above light, but it was Rana Pratap's bounden rather solemn duty to fight to the last to keep up the banners of Mewar high in the sky. "The choicest worship for the social state, from which the lamp of the recluses gets light is when majestic rulers obliterate the darkness of the desert of presumption by the effulgence of farseeing wisdom and the flashes of the world-adorning sword, and the cause of the

1 Tod, Annals, Vol. I, p. 386.

2 This is the spelling of our MSS., of Badauni and of the Lucknow edition of the 'Akbarnama'. Todd calls the place "Gogoonda"; Blochmann ('Ain-i-Akbari', Vol. i, p. 339) writes it "Gogundah".

3 Nizam-ud-din, T. Akbari, p. 78. (Tr. Elliot & Dowson.)

4 Nizam-ud-din, T. Akbari, p, 91.

stiff-necked way-farers of the lanes of pride to journey to the city of supplication......great rulers of the east from the rubbish of their existence, for most evil doers are of a wicked nature, though some are only foolish, so that they may obtain their deserts, and mortals their repose, and that every one may, under the shade of peace, make his own fashion of divine worship and his customs a means of thanks-giving, thus may the outer world acquire repose and adornment, and the spiritual world set its face towards increase and development.[1] "In accordance with these views, as the disobedience and presumption of the Rana, as well as his deceit and dissimulation had exceeded all bounds, H. H. addressed himself to his overthrow."[1] Rana priced independence and liberty above everything, and so it was not his presumption or disobedience, deceit or dissimulation to hold the standard of Mewar unfurled in the sky, and Rana Pratap, the true patriot, should be exonerated from the charge of evil motives and infidelity. This charge of Abul Fazl may be refuted by saying that it was impossible for an orthodox courtier and panegyrist like him to fully realise and appreicate the greatness of the Rana and the loftiness of the purpose for which he waged a life-long war against the empire of the Moguls. "His (Rana Partap's) patriotism was his offence. Akbar had won over most of the Rajput chieftains by his astute policy and could not endure the independent attitude assumed by the Rana who must be broken if he could not bend like his fellows".[2]

The insult thus accorded to Man Singh, and the independent attitude thus exhibited by the war preparations of Rana Partap, roused the war-like attitude in Akbar, who resolved solemnly to humble " the pride of Rana of Chitor, the acknowledged chief of the great Rajput confederacy."[3] This solemn promise "hastened the first of those sanguinary battles which had immortalized the

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1 Abdul Fazl, 'Akbarnamah' (Tr. Beneridge) Vol. iii, p. 236.

2 Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul.

3 Cambridge, 'Hist. of India', Vol. iv, p. 97.

name of Partap: nor will Haldighat be forgotten while a Seesodia occupies Mewar or a bard survives to relate the tale"[1] Akbar took the field against the Rajput Prince establishing his head-quarters at Ajmer, the celebrated fort ress. In his task he was honestly assisted by some of the greatest Rajput captains and diplomats like Bihari Mall of Amber, his son Bhagwandas and grandson Man Singh and many petty chiefs of Rajasthan, who were transformed into satraps of Delhi, and truely did the Mogul historian designate them "at once the props and the armaments of the throne"[2] These were, no doubt, grievious odds against Pratap. When the arms of his countrymen thus turned upon him, and the Hindu prejudice of helping the distressed was thus violated by every prince of Rajasthan excepting that of Bundi, the Rana repudiated all alliance and friendship with those who thus degraded themselves. He was nobly supported by the sons of Jaimall, who shed their blood along with the successors of Patla[3] in his cause, by the first class nobles of his own kin, the descendants of the ancient princes of Delhi, of Patan, of Marwar, and of Dhar, in his noble mission.

"Prince Salim, the heir of Delhi, led the war, guided by the counsels of Raja Man and the distinguished apastate son of Sagarji, Mahabat Khan".[4] Pratap trusted to his native hills and the valour of twenty-two thousand Rajputs to withstand the son of Akbar. The inevitable imperial invasion of his territory took place at the pass of Haldighat near Gogunda. "The whole of

1 Tod. Annals, Vol. I p.

2 Tod, Annals, Vol. I p. 390

3 A Colloquial contraction for Partap.

4 This is impossible, because Salim, afterwards the Emperor Jahangir, was only in his seventh year. The generals in command were Man Singh and Asaf Khan.

The Rajput tradition about Mahabat Khan must be erroneons because Jahangir says ; 'I raised Zamana Beg, son of Ghayur Beg of Kabul, who has served me personally from his childhood, and who, when I was prince, from the grade of an ahadi to that of 500, giving him the titles of Mahabat Khan and the rank of 1500. He was confirmed as Bakshi of my private establishment (Shagird-pisha) (Jahangir, R & B, i, 24). Jahangir cannot have been mistaken about a man whom he had known from childhood and who played such an important role in his life.

the space of Haldighat is mountain and forest, valley and stream",[1] which rendered the advanced march of the Mogul army almost inaccessible. Above and below the mountains, the Rajputs were stationed, and on the cliffs and pinnacles overthrowing the field of battle, the faithful aborigines, the Bhil, with his natural weapon the bow and arrow and huge stores ready to roll upon the combatant enemy. "At the pass Partap was posted with the flower of Mewar, and glorious was the struggle for its maintenance".[1] The battle was furiously contested,[2] and in vain Pratap strained every nerve to encounter Raja Man, his desperate valour was unavailing against such a mighty force of Akbar. Salim's life was grievicusly endangered. But for the steel plates which defended his *hāwda* from the lance of the Rajput, would have deprived Akbar of his heir. "Pratap was thrice rescued from amidst the foe, and was at length overwhelmed when the Jhala chief gave a signal instance of fidelity, and extricated him with the loss of his own life."[3] Man took possession of the insignia of Mewar, and made good his way to an intricate position, while the Rana was forced from the field. "With all his brave vassals the noble Jhala fell ; and in remembrance of the deed his descendants have since the day of Haldighat, borne the regal ensigns of Mewar, and enjoyed "the right hand of her Princes'".[3] The pen stops to furnish with a starding information that of twenty-two thousands Rajputs gathered to fight for the defence of Haldighat, only eight thousand quitted the field alive.[4]

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1 Tod, Annals, Vol. i, p. 393.

2 The battle fought on June 18, 1576, is known to Musalman Historians as the battle of Khamnaur or Khamnor, a place twenty-six miles north of Udaipur city. (Badaoni ii, 237, Akbarnama, Vol. iii, 244 ; Elliot-Dowson V, p. 398 ; Ain, Vol. i, p. 339 ; Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 151).

Tod Annals, Vol. 1, p. 394.

"On the 7th Sawan, S. 1632 (July, A. D. 1576) a day ever memorable in the annals, the best blood of Mewar irrigated the pass of Haldighat. Of the nearest kin of the Prince, five hundred were slain ; the exiled Prince of Gwalior, Ramash, his son Khanderao. with three hundred and fifty of his brave Taur clan, paid the debt of gratitude with their lives......Man, the devoted Jhala, lost one hundred and fifty of his vassals, and every house of Mewar mourned its chief support." (Tod, Annals, Vol. i, p. 396.)

Thus utterly defeated and wounded, Pratap, unattended, fled on the gallant "Chetak" though wounded like his master, to the hills where his brother Sakta, whose personal enmity had made him a traitor to Mewar, now forgetting his resentment, took possession of his (Pratap's) bosom.

During the rainy season, the Mogul army, elated with victory, left the hills, thus giving a few months of repose to Rana Pratap; but with the advent of the spring, the foe returned and defeated him. Thus vanquished, he took post in Kumbhalver where he made a gallant and protracted resistance to Shahbaz Khan, but due to the treachery of the Deora chief of Abu, who had now taken the side of Akbar, this heroic opposition ended in failure. He thence retired to Chawand[1]. Bhan, the Sonagira chief, defended the place to the last, and was slain in the assault, and the chief bard of Mewar, who inspired, by his deeds as well as by song, the spirit of resistance to 'the ruthless King', and whose laudatory couplets on the deeds of his lord are still in every mouth, also fell on this occasion.

On the fall of Kumbhalmer, the castles of Dharmati and Gogunda were laid siege by Raja Man. Mahabat Khan took possession of Udaipur, and Khan Farid attacked Chappan and assailed Chawand from the south. Thus assailed on every side, pursued from rock to rock, there remained no hope for Pratap. "Years thus rolled away, each ending with a diminution of his means and an increase to his misfortunes".[2] "The wife of his bosom" was insecure, his infants, heirs to every pomp and luxury, were shedding tears around him for food. For with such resolution and doggedness the Mogul servile followers hunted them that " fine meals have been prepared and abandoned for want of opportunity to eat them". Until that time his fortitude had remained unsubdued. But the lamentation of his children

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1 A town in the heart of the mountains tract on the south-west of Mewar, called Chappan, containing about three hundred and fifty towns and villages, peopled chiefly by the aboriginal Bhils.

2 Tod, Annals, Vol. i, p. 397.

for food "unmanned him." "He cursed the name of regality, if only to be enjoyed on such conditions, and he demanded of Akbar a mitigation of his hardship".[1]

Over exalted at this indication of submission, the Emperor ordered public rejoicings, and in ecstasy showed the letter to Prithiraj, a Rajput. But he (Prithiraj) loved the very name of Pratap very dearly, and the information of Pratap's submission filled his heart with deep sorrow. With all the humility and sincerity of his nature, he told the Emperor, "I know him well, for your crown he would not submit to your terms." He felt great regret and secured permission from the Emperor to send by his express messenger a letter to Pratap, apparently to ascertain the fact of his submission, but actually with the purpose of stopping. He wrote thus : "The hopes of the Hindu rest on the Hindu, yet the Rana forsakes them. But for Partap, all would be placed on the same level by Akbar ; for our chiefs have lost their valour and our females their honour". This effusion of the Rathor nerved the drooping mind of Pratap, and stirred him up into action for it was a noble stimulus to find every eye of his race fixed upon him.

Unable to stem the torrent of the Mogul force, Pratap formed a resolution worthy of his name and character to withdraw the letter of submission and abandon Mewar and the blood-stained Chitor, lead his Seesodias to the Indus, plant the crimson banner on the insular capital of Sogdoi and leave a desert between him and his inexonerable foe. But the splendid proof of gratitude of Bhama Shah, the minister of Pratap, whose name would be preserved as "the saviour of Mewar",[2] because he placed at the prince's disposal their accumulated wealth, which stated to have been equivalent to the maintenance of twenty five thousand men for twelve years, and sirvente of Prithiraj as incitements, Pratap again "screwed up his courage to the sticking place", collected his bands, and while his enemies thought that he was preparing

1 Tod, Annals, Vol. i, p. 398.
2 Tod. Annals, Vol. i, p. 402.

to effect a retreat through the desert, made a surprise attack upon Shahbaz's camp at Dawar. Before they could recover from their terror, Kumbhalmer was attacked and captured ; Abdullah and his garrisson were put to dealth, and thirty-two fortified posts in like manner carried by surprise, the troops being put to the sword without mercy. To use the words of the Annals : "Pratap made a desert of Mewar, he made an offering to the sword of whatever dwell in its plains."[1] This was appalling but indispensable sacrifice. In one short encounter he had got back all Mewar, except Chitor, Ajmer, Mandelgarh ; he attacked Amber and ravaged its chief mart of commerce, Malpura. Akbar lifted the Mogul troops from the defence of Mewar, and the historians differ in their opinions about the cause of sudden change of the mind of Akbar. The Annals of Rajasthan ascribe it "to a generous sentiment of Akbar, prompted by the great Khan Khanan whose mind appears to have been captivated by the actions of the Rajput Prince". But Tod is of opinion that the relaxation of severity by Akbar is of too romantic a nature even for this part of the annals of the Rajputs. He also said, "we are authorised to admit the full weight of the Hindu Prince exerted upon Akbar, together with the general sympathy of his fellow Princes, who swelled the train of the conqueror, and who were too powerful to be regarded with indifference. Repose was, however, no boon to the noblest of his race."[2] Dr. Smith is of opinion that "during the latter years of his (Rana Pratap's) life was left in peace, owing to the inability of Akbar to continue an active campaign in Rajputana while necessity compelled him to reside thirteen years in the Punjab."[3] We may subscribe to the view that necessity as well as sympathy of the magnanimous soul of Akbar worked hand in hand to grant repose to Rana Pratap Singh for the latter years of his life. He (Rana) "founded a new capital called Udaipur, which is still occupied by his descendants".[4] Before the death of Akbar, he recovered a great portion of the

1 Annals, Vol. I, p. 403.

2 Tod, Annals, Vol. i, p. 404.

3 Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 153.

4 Elphinstone, History of India, p. 495.

open part of his dominions ; but it is pathetic to note that he could not fulfil his promise of reconquering Chitor, his dreamland, and the ancestral capital.

The Rana of Mewar, Pratap Singh, died on the 19th January in 1597, at the age of fifty-seven, and the final scene has been pathetically described by Colonel Tod. It is said that the last moments of Pratap were an appropriate commentary on his life, which he ended like a Carthigian, swearing his successor to eternal conflict against the foes of his country's independence. But the Rajput warrior and patriot had not the same joyful assurance and promise that fired zeal and inspiration in the bosom of the Numidian Hamilcar ; for he had no faith in his son Amar, who would leave his fame for inglorious repose. The dying hero is living in a lowly dwelling ; his chiefs, the faithful companions and nobles of many a glorious day, awaiting round his pallet the dissolution of the prince, when the groan of mental anguish made slumber inquire, "what afflicted his soul that it would not depart in peace."[1] He replied : "It lingered", he said, "for some consolatory pledge that his country should not be abandoned to the Turk."[2] They pledged themselves and became guarantees for the Prince, "by the throw of Bappa Rawal," that they would not permit mansions instead of huts to be raised till Mewar had recovered her independence. The soul of Pratap was enchanted by this solemn oath and pledge and with joy he expired. "Thus closed the life of a Rajput whose memory is even now idolized by every Seesodia, and will continue to be so, till renewed oppression shall extinguish the remaining sparks of patriotic feeling. May that day never arrive."[3]

"Had Mewar possessed her Thucydides[4] or her xenophon,[5] neither the wars of the peloponnesus nor the retreat of the ten

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1 Tod, Annals, Vol. i, p. 405

2 Ibid.

3 Tod. Annals, Vol i. p. 406.

4 A soldier as well as a historian, who took part in the battle of Cunaxa, fought between Cyrus and Artaxerxes and conducted the safe retreat of the ten thousand.

5 The greatest historian of ancient Greece, who served as a general during the Peloponnesian War but suffered banishment due to the loss of Amphipolis.

thousand would have yielded more diversified incidents for the historic muse than the deeds of this brilliant reign amid the many vicissitudes of Mewar. Undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, that sincerity which 'keeps honour bright............. were the materials opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unlimited means, and fervour of religious zeal ; all, however, is insufficient to contend with one unconquerable mind......Haldighat is the Thermopylae of Mewar ; the field of Dawer her Marathon."[1] On the other hand, Haldighat is the stepping-stone towards the realisation of Akbar's greatest ideal of an All-India Empire. Reasons might also be put forward in favour of Akbar. Had there been no necessity for Akbar to reside in the Punjab for thirteen years and had a generous sentiment never taken possession of the bosom of Akbar, the independent attitude and pride of Pratap would have been totally humbled to submission.

Rana Pratap Singh is indeed an inspiring personality in Indian History. The Rajputs have no doubt produced from among abler generals and more wily statesmen than Pratap, but not bold and courageous and excellent and impressive patriotic leaders than he. Akbar, the great Mogul, who had a noble heart and sublime mind, had fully realized the worth and appreciated without any prejudice in mind the valour, fortitude and personality of Pratap, who, unlike his father, was an active and dignified and high spirited prince, and whose perseverance was pratially rewarded by success. Had Udai Singh not lived, or had a less gifted monarch than Akbar been his contemporary, the noble mission of the Rana, for which he abondoned every article of comfort, pomp and luxury and underwent a lot of severe hardship, might have been materialized and fulfilled. That is why often was Pratap heard to exclaim : "Had Udai Singh never been, or none intervened between him and Rana Sanga, no Turk should ever have given laws to Rajasthan"[2] This sentence throws much light on the insight of a genius like Pratap, whose uncompromising and unconquered mind maintained to the end of his life the independent attitude and inimical relation with Akbar, the foreigner to the soil.

Tod, Annals, Vol. i, p. 406.

Tod, Annals, Vol. i, pp. 387-88

Renaissance and Europe

by

Rafiq Mohd. Khan, Karachi

Renaissance came as a storm over Europe during the Middle ages, toppling many social and political structures of those time and then it heralded a new era of learning and lusture. People as a matter of fact were awakened to new realities of life and realities of Universe. From the time of suspicion and superstition they reached the stage of speculation and contempulation. Renaissance came as a birdge between the ancient and the modern times in order to assess the nature of this movement, we will have to review breafly the motivating forces of such an intellectual transformation.

With the advent of Renaissance the out-look of Europe was changed. History was no more the legends or tales of king and queens from such a perspective it assumed new dimentions and it started un-folding the fundamental forces governing human life in political and economic sphere. Under the impact of Renaissance and rational analysis of human motivation, history delved deeper into intellectual and scientific and religious incentives and experiences. Thus as revival of learning it indicates the spring-time of rational human thought. However, it goes to the credit of Muslim historiographer *Ibne Khaldon* to propound a realistically sociological interpretation of history. As a matter of fact he advanced a cogent philosophy of history. In fact he was the main spansor of a scientific interpretation of history and today with the deep researches and splended erudition we can assert that history which tells the past explains the present and forecasts the future is not based on conjucture and surmises. Empires have arisen and fallen, nations have prospered and perished but their history will always remain a key to their success and failure.

During our historical studies we must not lose side of the fact that history flows like stream and the events are as interlinks as the collecting links of waves of water. An event is born out of reaction or as a by-product yet there is an invisible continuity in universal facts as feudalism arose out of the inherent weaknesses of empire-system, or as revolution follows as ligical corollary, of oppression and tyranny, history also has conjoint links of relativity. Despite this coherence and continuance of the stream of events, nevertheless we divide history into eras and periods. The first purpose of such to have a co-related division of history and to appraise the currents and cross currents which influence the life of a people. We are fully acquainted with the history of the sub-continent and we have different specified epochs like the Aryan raid, the Muslim invasion, battle of Plassey war of Independence of 1857 and the partition of 1947, which have moulded the cultural and intellectual life of the people of sub-continent like-wise the Renaissance ushered in a new era in Europe and brought in its wake new ideas and inventions.

Christianity was the bed-rock of social and political life in Europe. Not only it guided the mode of behaviour in spiritual and temporal affairs but acted as an impetus to the activities of a corporate life. It was generally conceived that either Europe should be considered as a community because of the fact the common thread of religion was running through out the life of the European people and one of the reasons for unity among the Christian Europe was the dread of Islam.

Before the renaissance we find strong national governments. Loius II of France tried to unifying his country with further conquests and progress added to the pleasure and prosperity of his country men. Spain also have been on road to unification under the efforts of Duke of Ferdinand and Queen Isabela of Aragon. It is thus we see that with the revival of learning, the time we are discussing brought about the close of middle ages.

There was no concept of general unity in Europe during the Middle Ages, and in such times the European countries considered

themselves under two supreme Powers, the pope and the Emperor. In the modern Europe the basis of the political organisations is on the principle of individuality but during the Medaeval period, the foundation was on the principle of guilds and corporation and manors. And as such individual counted for nothing. Human personality was consequently sacrificed at the altar of social organism.

Social Distinction.—The social configuration during the Middle Ages was Feudal and though Imperial system of Government was regaining strength in territorial limits, the feudal System had also found a foothold. Feudalism was half agricultural and half military. The feudal lords used to extract military service from the serfs and at times put them to agricultural services. As a matter of fact the serfs had no fundamental human rights and they were considered a part of the property of the feudal lords. Whenever the lands were sold or transferred the serfs went as a part of transaction, and thus they were at the complete mercy of the feudal lords. We discover that with the advent of the modern age there grew a new class of people better known as the "middle class" which indeed became a backbone of the society. It not only opened new horizens but also moulded the taste and trends of times, bringing in its wake new turns and tones for industry, trade and commerce. And hence the individual who was recognised in the political set up of the time was also assigned proper weight and value in the new dispensation of society and state. Like the state and society which did not recognised the individuals, education also ignored him with few exceptions—knowledge and learning was the monopoly of the rich and wealthy. System of education was also antiquated and outmoded. People used to learn only philosophy and theology, history, politics, geography had no importance. Research and criticism was absent but with the emergence of modern age and under the impact of social and political changes intellectual efforts also took a new and happy turn. A new era of learning dawned. 'People started reading books and studying problems, arts and sciences and made humble beginning. Church no

longer dominated and controlled human thought. The minds of men were under no theological stresses and strains. From the time when they had thoroughly been submerged in superstition they arose with a torch of reason; making it a guide in their normal life. The old institutions of superstitions and suspicion crumbled to peaces one by one. It was a new society born after the darkness of Medieval time with new ideas and new ideals under the impetus of reason and rationality. Renaissance is a land-mark in the European history. It not only brought about a revolution in the thought of the people of Europe but influenced the course of history in other countries as well. Literally speaking renaissance means "Revival". Revival of learning and knowledge. Constantinople, the Capital of Byzantine Empire had by 10 Century A. D. become the nerve centre of civilization and culture, but with the rise of Arab power the Islamic banners were fluttering in the Byzantine region and when the Muslims conquered Constantinople in 1453, the Christian philosopher, thinkers and Artists moved over to other countries of Europe like Italy, Hungary, Switzerland, etc. and they introduced the thought of the ancient sages and propagated their views among the Europeans; thus the learning of ancient thinkers and dead philosophers, was revived and with the passages of time it assumed quite a popularity. Not only the lettered but the people otherwise were now under a direct influence in their day to day life of Renaissance movement. Schools, Churches, States, and the Society at large was drawing inspiration and strength from the new dynamic power of Renaissance.

The Muslims also have made a vital contribution to the development of Arts and Sciences in Europe. There were three sources through which Europe derived its basic materials for Renaissance. The Muslim Spain was instrumental in providing the ancient learning of the Greeks and also of other Past writers. So it becomes cristal clear that Spain of the Moress was a cultural centre in Medaeveil period when Europe was said to be passing through a "Dark Age" Aveross (ابن رشد) and Avampas (ابن باجہ) are still remembered by Europe.n scholars Not only

the Muslims translated literature but made them available to the Savants of Europe. Plato, Aristotal, Socritus and others were taught to the medievcal scholars by the Muslims. The second source of intellectual inspiration were the crusaders who learned many bright things from the Muslims during the course of ages and carried them to their fellow Europeans. And finally the fall of the Byzantine capital in the hands of Muslims in the year of 1453 was no ordinary event. Not only Constantinople remain a trade and military establishment and a famous city but also a cultural centre. So collectively speaking Europe was drawing its source of cultural strength and intellectual development from the treasure house of Islam. Thus the Muslims were like a bridge between the ancient learning and modern progress, the only difference is that the people of Europe had a will to learn and a will to live where as the Muslims had a tendency of forgetting and forsaking their own cultural heritage. However the immediate benefishers of renaissance were Europeans and they took full benefit of it. The revival of learning went quite a long way in freeing Christians of Europe from theocracy in liberalizing them and that is why we here of the "Reformation". The reformation not only liberated the Christians from bound of religiousity but also induced them towards humanistic interpretation of life.

The Renaissance and the reformation became the times sources of progress and prosperity of Europe and the Europeans started thinking rationally preserving that they achieved and drawing to invent and discover instrument and other designs of progressive and prosperous life, and inspite of certain shortcomings the legacies of Renaissance are so immence and so powerful that Europe has become the centre of gravity of learning and knowledge that the worid recognises and belives.

Zakat as a mode of Taxation in the history of Islam

by

Muhammad Shamsuddin Miah, Rajshahi.

The importance of *Zakat* as an indispensable mode of taxation can be realised from the fact that on the score of it Hadrat Abu Bakr waged an all-out war against the whole of Arabia. The Beduin was justified into thinking it as an unremunerative tax burden. To pay land tax to the state authority or toll and customs to the Ashirs for the export and import of merchandise seemed to have some meaning, for the state earned a share by extending its protection but they did not read anything whatsoever in sparing a part of their wealth accumulated, to the state government. A Beduin born and bread in the atmosphere of individualism was not easily convinced by the socialistic urge ingrained in the *Zakat* taxation. But he was compelled to pay it at bayonet point. No compromise was possible in matters of *Zakat*. It was not simply an expediency that the early administrators of the Islamic Polity tried to serve.

The holy *Qur'an* emphatically enjoins the Muslims to fulfil their *Zakat* obligations in the same strain that they are to say their daily prayers. In the latter obligation the state simply created an atmosphere but did not literally compel a Muslim to say his prayers whereas every Muslim with some technical exception, owning and possessing a minimum of property was compelled to pay a percentage as *Zakat* to the State, the minimum rate being fixed at 2½% without any maximum ceiling. The reason given in the holy *Qur'an* for such indispensable nature of *Zakat* payment is the benefit of the individual and the State. The holy *Qur'an* says قد افلح من تزکی (whoever pays *Zakat* or purifies himself is benefited thereby). The word تزکی carries two meanings. Literally it means

growth and increase and according to some, 'purity'.[1] Generally it is taken in the sense that by such imposition the Society ultimately benefits.

Secondly it purifies the payer of *Zakat* from the taint attached to his wealth had he miserly clung to it and not spared the dues as *Zakat*. The principle was, 'take from the property alms (*sadqah*) in order thus to purify them and their sins'.

Technically, *Zakat* is defined by the Hanifite doctors as the giving (*tamlik*) as an act of piety of a legally stated portion of one's own property to a poor Muslim who is not of the Hashimi family or their clients in such a way as to preclude for the giver any sort of benefit. The Alamkiriyyah, the Mabsut and Kasani writes in support of the indispensable nature of *Zakat* payment. (Mabsut, p. 149 & Kasani, p. 3). The Alamkiriyyah says, "finally it is supported by reason, because the giving of *Zakat* is an assistance to the poor and enables them to perform their religious obligations—to help perform a fard is itself a fard and because the giving of *Zakat* purifies one's morals by inculcating habits of generosity and great-heartedness and by eradicating those of niggardliness, since it is a fact that possession of property leads one to greed." p. 239. The Muhit goes a step further to assert that failure to believe that *Zakat* is a fard entails unbelief (Kufr) and refusal to practise it involves death penalty.

Therefore in regards to the legal sanctions of *Zakat* it is undeniable. It was practised by the Muslim rulers in different times and climes with varying intensity. In the history of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent monarch like Firuz Tughluq took pains to practise this mode of taxation. Today the Muslims have virtually relegated *Zakat* to the position of almost voluntary charity. Even the *Sadaqat-ul-Fitr* is more assiduously collected and distributed. Both the Muslim Society and the State seem to stand helpless so far the introduction of *Zakat* is concerned. One of the reasons for such a hesitant attitude towards *Zakat* is the existence of ap-

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1 Aghnides Muḍammadan Theories of Finance, 1916; Vol II, p. 203.

parently similar modes of taxation such as Income Tax, Super Tax, etc. The other possible reason is that Zakat, as such, taxes capital as a whole including its earning whereas modern taxation like Income tax or Super Tax exempts the 'Capital' and only taxes its earnings. Zakat might be apprehended as against the accumulation of wealth and capital and hence against the capitalistic mode of production. But there is a point in favour of *Zakat* in contrast to other modes of taxation that it allows a reasonable margin for the maintenance of the payer of *Zakat* and his family throughout the year and only his excess income is taxed by way of *Zakat*. This allows no curtailing of the efficiency of the person as a factor in production whereas taxes like Income Tax are more or less blind, artificial and mechanical. Hence *Zakat* demands a serious consideration for the rulers in different Muslim states for building up an equalitarian society. To assess the efficiency and feasibility of *Zakat* in the modern set-up, the history of the evolution of the theories of *Zakat* may be of some help.

The cause of *Zakat* being *wajib* is the possession in full ownership (*milk tamm*) of a productive *nisab* (minimum) of property. Property is a cause of *Zakat* not *per se* but in so far it contributes to the wealthiness of the owner, for, the Prophet said to Muadh, 'tell them that God has prescribed them *sadqah*, to be taken from the rich among them in order to be given to the poor.' But wealthiness results only from the possession of a definite quantity of wealth and this quantity is the *nisab*.' (Mabsut, p. 149.)

However, the *nisab* only becomes a cause by virtue of productivity, for *Zakat* is a contribution set apart from superfluous property in contrast to modern practices where fixed or arbitrary taxes are imposed on farms and industrial concerns resulting in either under-taxation or over-taxation and consequent liquidation, unemployment, rising prices of commodities and other evils.

Productivity is of two kinds—real (*tahqiqi*) and hypothetical (*taqdiri*). Thus the *nisab* consists of ownership (*milk tamm*) combined with possession. Mere possession or ownership does not

entail *Zakat*. "For the state of wealthiness does not exist without ownership (milk) and the productive property was a cause of *Zakat* only by virtue of contributing to the wealthiness of the owner and when it fails to do so, it is no longer a cause (of *Zakat*). (Mabsut, p. 164.)

"Ownership without possession is not subject to *Zakat* says Abu Hanifah since the *nisab* could not have been productive."[1] The *nisab* must be over and above what is necessary for the satisfaction of the primary necessities of life (*hajat-i-Asliyyah*), because, property destined for such necessities is, as it were, non-existent.

The *nisab* must be free of debt either to God or men. Shafii says that indebtedness does not affect the obligation of *Zakat*. But it opposes *Zakat* in non-apparent property. According to Malikites, indebtedness exempts from the *Zakat* of Gold and Silver and the articles of trade, though not of crops, cattle and mines. The Hanifite argument is based on the practice of Hazrat Othman, "Whoever has property and debts, let him deduct from what he owns, what he owes and pay *Zakat* for the remainder." (Mabsut, p. 160.)

The conditions of Zakat being a *wajib* are (a) Reason (*aql*), and maturity (*bulugh*), (b) the state of Islam, (c) hurriyah.

The following are exempt from *Zakat* :

(a) Mukatab, though he enjoys the right to dispose of goods but does not completely own it.

(b) the debtor subject to demand of property.

(c) Dimar Property.

(d) for want of productivity or being destined for primary use.

(e) Property of minor and insane persons in the absence of maturity and reason.

1 Fath., p. 113; Alam kiriyyah, pp. 241 & 245.

One full year should elapse before it becomes due unless it is dissolved, (b) continuance of the *nisab* throughout the whole year. Increment is a condition to *Zakat* and it is added with the *nisab*. Increment could be had by (a) Procreation or by exchange, (b) additional animals acquired in any way, (c) Profit, (d) *faidah*—silver, gold acquired through presents and gifts.

In reckoning the *nisab*, they are taken by group or 'ayn'—the same genus, the sawaim by their physical identity and not commercial value, trade articles by their value, gold and silver in terms of their weight.

Zakat lapses by the death of the property owner and by apostasy or by the destruction of the property or the cause of *Zakat* ceasing to exist.

During the time of Hazrat Omar a detailed list was prepared for fixing the *nisab* as well as the rate for *sawaim* animals, goods of trade, gold and silver. Thus the *Zakat* taxation was always flexible and the volume of collection often fluctuated. By such a mode the maximum volume could be levied without impairing in any way the effeciency of the taxpayers. The benifit of the individual was primary motive. For the good of the society the individual had not to be tortured or fleeced. Due to the absence of rigidity, the society could expect the maximum possible taxation for the greatest good of all concerned. *Zakat* was not only a more natural mode of taxation but also it was more humane than its modern counterparts.

URDU SECTION

اردو سیکشن

مغل باغات

از

محمد علم الدین سالک (پروفیسر اسلامیہ کالج - لاہور)

حسن اور جمال میں ایک قدرتی کشش ہے۔ اس مادی دنیا میں ہر چیز اس سے متاثر ہوتی ہے اور جو احساسات اس سے پیدا ہوتے ہیں ، ان کے اظہار کے لئے کوئی نہ کوئی علامت ضرور قرار دی جاتی ہے۔

ایرانی فطرتاً نفاست پسند اور رنگین مزاج واقع ہوئے ہیں۔ وہ ان جذبات و احساسات کو بیان کرنے کے لئے گل کا پیرایہ اختیار کرتے ہیں - یہی وجہ ہے کہ ایرانی ادب میں باغ ساری زندگی کا مینیچر (Miniature) ہوتا ہے۔ ایرانی، حسن و عشق کی تمام وارداتیں اسی کے ذریعے سے ادا کرتے ہیں -

ایرانیوں نے باغ کا تصور جنت سے اخذ کیا ہے۔ چنانچہ وہ باغ تعمیر کرتے وقت اس کی ہیئت میں بہت حد تک اسی کی پیروی کرتے ہیں - ایرانیوں کے اس تصور کی بدولت جہاں جہاں ایرانی تمدن پہنچا اور اثر انداز ہوا ، وہاں بہت سے تیوہار پھولوں کے نام پر منائے جانے لگے۔ ایران کے تیوہار مثلاً گل کوبی، گل افشانی، گل بازی اور عید گلابی وغیرہ اس نظریے کا بین ثبوت ہیں - ایرانیوں کا قومی تیوہار نوروز ہے۔ اس میں بھی پھول بکثرت استعمال کئے جاتے ہیں اور جب تیموری ہندوستان آئے تو انہوں نے یہاں بھی اپنی قومی اور مقامی تیوہار منانے میں پھول استعمال کئے - ہر تیموری امیر اور شہزادے کے گوشۂ دل میں چمن، باغ اور گل و گلزار کے لئے ایسی ہی شیفتگی اور کشش تھی جیسے ایرانیوں کے دل میں پائی جاتی تھی۔ ان کی زندگی کے لئے

گل و گلزار کا ہونا لازمی تھا - اس نے فلسفۂ حیات کی ترجمانی کے لئے بھی گل اور عندلیب کا انتخاب کیا گیا اور ان کے ذریعے اسے نہایت دلکش انداز میں پیش کیا - یہ سچ ہے کہ انہیں زندگی کا روح پرور پیغام عربوں نے دیا مگر عرب کے نخلستانوں کی گھنی چھاؤں' مغیلاں کے خار زاروں، عرار نجد کی خوشبو اور ناقہ صحرا کی صبا رفتاری کے بجائے انہوں نے باغ، بوستان، چمن، لالہ و گل اور نرگس و سوسن کو اپنے مطالب کی ادائیگی کے لئے چنا - یہی چیزیں آج ایرانی زندگی اور ایرانی تمدن کی ترجمان ہیں اور پھر جہاں ایرانی تمدن پہنچا اور جس جس قوم نے خوان عجم کی زلہ ربائی کی یہی چیزیں ان کی زندگی کا لازمی جزو بن گئیں - چنانچہ ہندوستانی فنون لطیفہ کے ماہر مسٹر ای - بی ہیول کا کہنا ہے کہ " ہندوستانی آرٹ میں تیموریوں کا سب سے زبردست اور غیر فانی کارنامہ چمن سازی اور گلشن آرائی ہے۔"

بابر مناظر قدرت کا بے حد دلداہ تھا - وہ نیچر کی ہر جمیل و حسین شے سے محظوظ ہوتا تھا اور اس کے رنگ و بو میں کھو کر اس کی حقیقی روح تک پہنچنے کی کوشش کرتا تھا، دلکش اور حسین مناظر اس کے دل و دماغ کو اپنی طرف کھینچ لیتے اور اس کی روح انہیں دیکھ کر وجد میں آ جاتی تھی، فرغانہ اس کا وطن تھا - قدرت نے اسے عجیب و غریب مناظر سے مالا مال کر رکھا تھا - وہ حسن و رعنائی کا مرقع تھا - اس کی فضا دل و دماغ پر ایک دائمی اثر قائم کرتی تھی - اند جان کے خوبصورت باغ جو بنفشہ، لالہ، گلاب اور دوسرے ہر قسم کے پھولوں سے لدے رہتے تھے ہر فطرت پسند کے دل کو تسخیر کر لیتے اور اس کی نگاہوں میں بس جاتے تھے - سمرقند کا شہر اس وقت عروس البلاد تھا - بابر اس کے جنت افروز جلوؤں سے متاثر ہو کر کہتا ہے:—

" در ربع مسکون برابر سمرقند لطیف شہر کمتر است " (توزک بابری)

یہ شہر حقیقت میں باغوں کا شہر تھا - وہاں قدم قدم پر باغ اور چپے چپے پر باغیچے لگے ہوئے تھے - بابر کے اپنے زمانے میں اس کی یہ کیفیت تھی کہ :-

"در زمان سلطان احمد میرزا ہر از خورد و
بزرگ امرا باغ و باغیچہ بسیارے انداختہ"
(توزک بابری)

وہ جب نسف پہنچا اور وہاں کی بہار کی جلوہ آرائیوں سے متاثر ہوا تو یوں بول اٹھا :-

"بہار او خوب می شود" (توزک بابری)

مگر اس کے آخری زمانے کی سرگرمیوں کا مرکز کابل تھا - اس شہر کی فضا اور سواد بھی خوب ہے - اس لئے بابر کے ذوق سلیم اور حسن و مذاق کے بعض بہترین مظاہر اسی شہر میں ملتے ہیں - اس کے بنائے ہوئے باغ بقول اسٹوئرٹ "مجموعۂ حسن اور حدیقۂ جمال ہیں"

افغانستان کے کہساروں کی دلاویزی نے بابر کے دل پر گہرا نقش چھوڑا - وہ ان کو دیکھتا اور روحانی مسرت محسوس کرتا تھا - غوربند کا علاقہ حسن و جمال کا مرقع تھا - قسم قسم کے پھول طرح طرح کے درخت اور گونا گوں مناظر اور پھر سبزہ کی کیاریاں اپنے اندر کچھ ایسی کشش رکھتی تھیں کہ جس نے انہیں دیکھا وہی مسحور ہو کر رہ گیا - بابر نے اسی مقام پر لالہ دو رو اور لالہ کی اور بہت سی قسمیں دیکھیں - وہ رنگا رنگ کے ان پھولوں کو دیکھ کر اللہ تعالیٰ کی تعریف میں رطب اللسان ہو گیا - پغمان کے باغوں اور ارغوان زاروں نے بھی اس کے دل کو موہ لیا تھا -

ان تمام خوبصورت مقامات کی سیر نے بابر کو کچھ ایسا متاثر کیا کہ وہ جہاں جاتا اسی قسم کے مناظر ڈھونڈتا اور جہاں اسے یہ چیزیں میسر نہ آتیں وہ تاسف اور حسرت کی تصویر بن جاتا - ہندوستان اس کی تاخت و تاراج کی آخری جولان گاہ ہے -

وہ یہاں ایک فاتح کی حیثیت سے داخل ہوا - یہاں بھی اس نے اسی قسم کے مناظر تلاش کئے - مگر افغانستان کی رعنائی و زیبائی یہاں کہاں؟ اس نے خوبصورت باغ چاہے مگر ہندوستان کا ذوق باغبانی اس کے معیار پر پورا نہ اترا - اس لئے افسوس اور حسرت کے جذبات بے اختیار اس کی زبان اور قلم سے نکل جاتے ہیں -

بابر سے پہلے نہ یہاں کچھ ایسا جمالیاتی مذاق تھا نہ نیچر کے حسن سے لطف اندوز ہونے کا ذوق - بلکہ یہاں کے باغ حسن و لطافت سے محروم تھے - علامہ ابو الفضل آئین اکبری میں کہتا ہے کہ " بابر کی آمد سے پہلے یہاں کے باغات کچھ ایسے اچھے نہ تھے - ان میں نہ تو کوئی بارہ دری ہوتی تھی جس میں آرام کیا جائے نہ آہستہ آہستہ بہنے والے چشمے ہوتے تھے - "

بابر فطرت کی ہر خوبصورت شے کا عاشق تھا - وہ فطرت کو حقیقی رنگ میں دیکھنے کا متمنی تھا - اسے پھولوں سے بے حد محبت تھی - وہ جہاں کہیں انہیں دیکھتا ان کی ہر ہر ادا پر بچھ بچھ جاتا اور چاہتا کہ کسی طرح ان کے دل میں اتر کر ان کے حسن و جمال کا اچھی طرح مطالعہ کرے - چنانچہ ڈاکٹر لین پول کہتا ہے کہ " اس کی درشت مزاجی پھولوں کی لطافت و نزاکت سے متاثر ہوئے بغیر نہ رہتی - جن ایام میں وہ افغانستان کے پہاڑوں میں مارا مارا پھر رہا تھا اس وقت بھی فطرت کے حسن و جمال کی خوشہ چینی کے لئے وقت نکال لیتا تھا - " چنانچہ غور بند کے چمن زاروں میں اس نے کم و بیش تیس (۳۰) قسم کے لالہ کا سراغ لگایا - وہ ایک خاص قسم کے لالہ کی خوشبو سے متاثر ہو کر کہتا ہے:-

" نوعے است از لالہ کہ ازاں بوئے گل سرخ
می آید - من آں را لالۂ گل بوئے خطاب دادم
و بہ ہمیں شہرت یافت " (توزک بابری)

باغ وفا اور چشمہ سہ احباب اس کی دل پسند سیر گاہیں تھیں ، وہ بلند مقامات پر بیٹھتا اور وہاں سے دریاؤں کے بہنے ،

نہروں کے چلنے ، آبشاروں کے گرنے اور باغوں کے حسن کا نظارہ کرتا اور پھر خوب مزے لے لے کر اپنے روز نامچہ میں ان کا ذکر کرتا۔

جب اس نے آگرہ کو اپنا پایہ تخت بنایا تو یہاں بھی اپنے مذاق کی تسکین کے لئے چار باغ تعمیر کرایا جسے آج کل رام باغ کہتے ھیں - یہ باغ جمنا کے کنارے واقع ھے اور تیموریوں کے ذوق چمن سازی کا ھندوستان میں پہلا نمونہ ھے۔ اس باغ میں اس نے شہ نشین ، حمام ، حوض ، پانی کے جھرنے اور نہریں بنوائیں - جہانگیر نے اپنی توزک میں اس باغ کا ذکر بڑے دلکش انداز میں کیا ھے۔

بابر کی تقلید اس کے امیروں نے بھی کی اور کئی باغ باغیچے لگوائے - خود بابر نے باغ ھشت بہشت اور زھرہ باغ لگوائے جن کے بچے کچھے نشانات آج بھی آگرہ میں پائے جاتے ھیں -

ھمایوں کی طبعیت اختراع پسند تھی - اس میں ایجاد و اختراع کا مادہ کوٹ کوٹ کر بھرا ھوا تھا ،مگر اس کی طبعیت کا میلان الغ میرزا کی طرح نجوم، ھندسہ اور ریاضی کی طرف تھا - اسے ھندوستان کی سیاسی حالات نے آرام سے نہ بیٹھنے دیا - اس کی عمر کا بیشتر حصہ دشت نوردی اور جلاوطنی میں بسر ھوا - اس لئے وہ فطرت پسندی کے جوھر کا مظاھرہ کہیں نہ کرسکا - البتہ اس کے چھوٹے بھائی میرزا کامران کے دو باغوں سے جو اس نے لاھور میں لگوائے تھے ثابت ھوتا ھے کہ کامران کو اپنے الوالعزم باپ کی طرح مناظر قدرت سے دلی لگاؤ تھا -

اکبر اعظم در حقیقت سلطنت تیموریہ کا بانی ھے۔ اس نے حقیقی معنوں میں وہ تہذیب یہاں رائج کی جس پر آج بر صغیر پاک و ھند ناز کر رھا ھے۔ لاھور اور کشمیر میں اس نے کئی باغ لگوائے جن کے اب فقط نام ھی باقی رہ گئے ھیں -

جہانگیر، بابر کی طرح شاعر ، انشا پرداز ، نقاد، فنون لطیفہ کا دلداہ، باغوں اور گلزاروں کا دلداہ و شیدا تھا - اس کی توزک

اس دعوے پر گواہ ہے- وہ جہاں کوئی حسین و جمیل منظر دیکھتا اس کا قلم ایک چابک دست اور ماہر مصور کے مو قلم کی طرح اس کی تصویر کھینچ کے رکھ دیتا- حسن ابدال کے مناظر، کشمیر کی باغ و بہار اور کابل کے دلفریب نظارے اس کی بدولت ادب اور آرٹ کے زندۂ جاوید شاہکار بن گئے ہیں - کشمیر کا شالامار باغ اور ویری ناگ ، کابل کا باغ شہر آرا اور لاہور کا باغ دل افروز اسی کا بنایا ہوا ہے-

شاہ جہاں ، جہانگیر کا بیٹا تھا - وہ عمارات کا دلداہ تھا - مگر مناظر فطرت سے اسے اتنا ہی لگاؤ تھا جتنا جہانگیر کو - اس نے لاہور میں شالامار باغ اور آگرہ میں روضہ تاج گنج لاثانی یادگاریں چھوڑیں - کشمیر اور دہلی میں اس نے کئی باغ لگوائے -

اورنگ زیب کے زمانے میں اس فن کو چنداں فروغ حاصل نہ ہوا مگر اورنگ زیب آخر تیمور کی نسل سے تھا - اس نے باغات کا شوق اور مناظر فطرت سے لطف اندوز ہونے کا ملکہ ورثہ میں پایا تھا - خلدآباد میں اس نے ایک لافانی یادگار رابعۂ دورانی کے روضہ کی صورت میں چھوڑی ہے- اس کے خطوط میں بھی اکثر گل و گلزار کا تذکرہ ملتا ہے جس سے پتہ چلتا ہے کہ وہ باغات کا زبردست مبصر تھا - اس کے رقعات سے اگر وہ حصے الگ کر کے یکجا کر لئے جائیں تو مناظر قدرت کا ایک حسین و جمیل مرقع تیار ہوسکتا ہے-

مختصر یہ ہے کہ چمن بندی ، گلشن آرائی اور باغ سازی کا مذاق بابر کے ساتھ ہندوستان آیا اور اس کے جانشینوں نے اسے معراج کمال تک پہنچایا ، بابر کے زمانے میں ایران و ترکستان میں اس فن کا شباب تھا - ہندوستان میں یہ نہ ہونے کے برابر تھا ، چنانچہ ہندوستان تیموریوں کی بدولت ایرانی اور ترکستانی تمدن سے پہلی مرتبہ آشنا ہوا - وسط ایشیا کے یہ علاقے فطرت کی

دلفریبیوں سے مالا مال اور قدرت کی سحر کاریوں سے ہر وقت حسن مجسم بنے رہتے تھے - اونچے اونچے برف پوش پہاڑ ، بلور کی طرح چمکتے ہوئے چشمے ، بہتے ہوئے ندی نالے ، فلک بوس ہرے بھرے درخت ، رنگ برنگ کے پھول ان علاقوں کو جنت ارضی بنائے ہوئے تھے - ہندوستان بھی قدرت کی فیاضیوں سے کچھ کم مالا مال نہیں بالخصوص کشمیر اپنے اندر جو کشش اور دلفریبی رکھتا ہے وہ دنیا کے کسی اور ملک میں نہیں - مگر یہاں کی قناعت پسند طبعیتوں نے ان سے پورا پورا فائدہ نہ اٹھایا - اس لئے بابر کی آمد سے پہلے یہاں کی چمن سازی میں کوئی نمایاں بات نظر نہیں آتی -

جب مسلمان وسط ایشیا اور ایران سے یہاں آئے تو انہیں اپنے جمالیاتی ذوق کی تسکین کے لئے کوئی چیز نظر نہ آئی - انہوں نے اپنے مذاق کے بموجب اس ملک کو ڈھالنا شروع کیا - ابتدا میں یہاں کی آب ہوا اور سطح زمین کی ساخت نے حوصلہ شکن حالات پیدا کئے مگر مسلمان ہمت کے دھنی تھے - انہوں نے استقلال کا سر رشتہ ھاتھ سے نہ چھوڑا اور اپنی کوششوں کو جاری رکھا - آخر کار انہوں نے یہاں کے حالات پر پورا پورا قابو پالیا -

نخل بندی ، چمن سازی ، باغبانی اور زراعت مستقل ہنر تھے - مسلمان ان میں خاصی مہارت رکھتے تھے - انہی کی بدولت انہوں نے ایران اور ترکستان کو حسن و جمال کا مرقع بنا دیا تھا - وہ جب ہندوستان آئے تو اس شوق کو بھی ساتھ لائے اور انہوں نے اپنے اس مذاق کو اس ملک کی آب و ھوا اور رسم و رواج کے بموجب ڈھال کر خوب ھی ترقی دی - قابل اور چابک دست نخل بند اور باغبان بیرونی ممالک سے بلائے - ان کی دل کھول کر سر پرستی کی - انہیں انعام و اکرام عطا کئے - حوصلہ افزائی اور قدردانی دیکھ کر انہوں نے اس میں عجیب و غریب اختراعات کیں اور دلاویزی کے نئے نئے سامان پیدا کئے - حتیٰ

کہ ہندوستان حقیقی معنوں میں جنت نشان بن گیا ۔

اب ہندوستان مسلمانوں کا وطن تھا ۔ وہ اسے پھلتا پھولتا دیکھ کر خوش ہوتے تھے ۔ ان کی سب سے بڑی خواہش یہ تھی کہ یہ ملک دنیا کی نگاہوں میں سب سے زیادہ حسین اور با وقار نظر آئے ۔ اس کی عظمت و شوکت سے تمام دنیا مرعوب ہوجائے ۔ چنانچہ ایسا ہی ہوا ۔ ان کی توجہ سے ہندوستان دنیا کا سب سے بڑا ثقافتی مرکز بن گیا ۔ باغات ہندوستان میں پہلے سے موجود تھے مگر ایسے نہ تھے کہ دلوں کو مسحور کرلیں یا نگاہوں میں سما جائیں ۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ بابر کے لطیف جمالیاتی مذاق پر پورے نہ اترے اور وہ بار بار شکایت کرتا ہے کہ یہاں اچھے باغ نہیں ۔ اس کا یہ مقصد ہرگز نہیں کہ یہاں کے لوگ باغ لگانا نہیں جانتے تھے بلکہ یہ کہ یہاں کے باغوں میں فرغانہ ، سمرقند بخارا اور کابل کے باغوں کی سی نفاست اور رعنائی نہیں پائی جاتی تھی ۔

تیموریوں کے اس شوق نے ہندوستان کو بے حد فروغ دیا ۔ انہوں نے سمرقند ، بخارا ، بدخشاں ، کابل ، قندھار اور ایران سے بہت سے پہاڑی درخت ، قسم قسم کے پھل ، رنگ برنگ کے خوبصورت اور نازک پھول ، طرح طرح کے پودے منگوائے اور ان کی یہاں پرورش کی جن کی بدولت ہندوستان تھوڑی ہی عرصہ میں رشک گلزار ارم بن گیا ۔ چنانچہ ابوالفضل کہتا ہے :—

"گلہائے ایرانی و تورانی از گل سرخ ، نرگس ،
بنفشہ و یاسمن ، کبھود و سوسن ، ریحان و رعنا
و زیبا شقائق و تاج خروس ، قلفہ و نافرمان و
عظمی و جز آن بسیار شود ،،
(آئین اکبری ۔ جلد اول آئین سبتم)

ہندوستان میں قلم اور پیوند لگانے کا رواج نہ تھا ۔ تیموریوں کے وقت میں محمد قلی انشا کشمیر کے باغات کا داروغہ تھا ۔ اس کی جدت پسند طبیعت نے کابل سے شاہ آلو منگوا کر پیوند لگایا ۔

اسے خاطر خواہ کامیابی ہوئی - پھر ملک میں یہ رواج عام ہوگیا۔ چنانچہ خوافی خاں ۱۰۲۹ھ کے واقعات کے ضمن میں لکھتا ہے:—

"پیوند دادند اشجار میوہ دار در کشمیر و تمام هندوستان محمد قلی انشاء داروغہ' باغات کشمیر در عہد عرش آشیانی اول خیال شاہ آلو از کابل طلبیدہ پیوند نمودہ ، بآب و ہوائے آنجا موافق آمد - ازاں ایام رواج یافت و سال بسال در همه بلاد هندوستان ازیں پیوند میوہ ہائے شاداب و شیریں بالیدن گردیدند"

(منتخب الباب خوانی خاں جلد اول صفحہ ۳۰۳)

تیموریوں کے وقت میں صندل کا درخت عام طور پر باغوں میں لگایا جاتا تھا - پستہ کی کاشت اکبر کے دور حکومت میں ہوئی اور وہ خوب بارور ہوا - اسی طرح بادام سرہند وغیرہ کے علاقوں میں بکثرت پیدا ہوئے - علامہ ابوالفضل آئین اکبری میں لکھتا ہے:—

"هم چناں تربز و شفتالو و بادام و پستہ و انار و جز آں پیدا گرفت"

جہانگیر توزک میں انگور اور دوسرے میووں کا ذکر کرتا ہوا کہتا ہے:—

"در ایام دولت حضرت عرش آشیانی اکثر میوہائے ولایت کہ در ہند نہ بود بہم رسید - انگورہا صاحبی و حبشی و کشمشی در شہر ہائے مقررہ شائع گشت - چنانچہ در بازارہائے لاهور در موسم انگور عام مقدار کہ خواهند از هر قسم و هر جنس بہم می رسد"

(توزک جہانگیری صفحہ ۸)

انناس فرنگستان کی بندرگاہوں میں بکثرت ہوتا تھا - اکبر کے زمانے میں هندوستان میں اس کی کاشت شروع ہوئی - جہانگیر

کہتا ہے کہ آگرہ کے باغ گل افشاں میں ہر سال ہزاروں کی تعداد میں میسر آتا ہے۔ اسی طرح اور بہت سے درخت ولایت سے لا کر یہاں بوئے گئے۔ جہانگیر کہتا ہے:—

"از درختان سرو صنوبر و چنار و سپیدار و بیر مولا کہ ہرگز در ہندوستان خیال نہ کردہ بودند بہم رسیدہ بسیار شدہ است و درخت صندل کہ خاصۂ جزائر بود در باغات نشو و نما یافت" (توزک جہانگیری صفحہ ۸)

اسی طرح سیب، ناشپاتی، بہی اور بیسیوں قسم کے دوسرے پھل لگوائے گئے۔ تیموریوں کے وقت میں صرف کشمیر میں بیسیوں قسم کا سیب پیدا ہوتا تھا۔ آم ہندوستان کا میوہ ہے مگر تیموریوں کی توجہ سے سینکڑوں قسم کا آم یہاں پیدا ہونا شروع ہوگیا۔ ملتان میں بہترین قسم کا بیدانہ انار پیدا ہوتا تھا جو جلال آباد کے اعلیٰ قسم کے انار کا مقابلہ کرتا تھا۔ عالمگیر اپنے رقعات میں لکھتا ہے:—

"انار بیدانۂ ملتان کہ کمترین مریدان بدرگاہ سلاطین پناہ ارسال می دارند بہ از انار جلال آباد است" (مکاتیب عالمگیر صفحہ ۴)

اس طرح تھٹہ کے خربوزے، کابل کے خربزہ کا مقابلہ کرتے تھے۔ عالمگیر لکھتا ہے:—

"خربزہ تھٹہ کہ بہ خربزۂ کابل نزدیک است"

بہر نوع تیموریوں نے جس علاقے میں جس بات کی صلاحیت دیکھی اسے خوب ترقی دی۔ کشمیر پھل اور پھول کا گھر تھا۔ اسے بھی تیموریوں نے خوب فروغ دیا۔ ملا عبدالحمید لاہوری بادشاہ نامہ میں لکھتا ہے:—

"کشمیر کے بعض پھل ولایت سے بہتر ہوتے ہیں۔ ان میں سے ایک گیلاس ہے جو مٹھاس اور بالیدگی میں کابل کے شاہ آلو سے بہتر ہوتا

ہے۔ سیب بڑا بڑا اور رنگین ہوتا ہے۔ ناشپاتی اس حد تک نازک اور سیراب ہوتی ہے کہ بھمبر تک نہیں پہنچ سکتی۔ خرپزہ اگر خراب نہ ہو تو کابل کے خرپزہ جیسا ہوتا ہے۔ تربوز بہت بڑا اور میٹھا ہوتا ہے۔ شفتالو لطافت و نزاکت میں کابل کے شفتالو کی طرح ہوتا ہے۔ مختلف قسم کے زرد آلو بڑی کثرت سے پیدا ہوتے ہیں۔ مگر ان سے کابل کا سفیدچہ اور میرزائی بہتر ہوتے ہیں۔ توت بیدانہ بڑی کثرت سے پیدا ہوتا ہے مگر کابل کے بیدانے کے برابر نہیں ہوتا۔ انار پیدا ہوتا ہے مگر کچھ ایسا اچھا نہیں ہوتا۔ بادام اور پستہ بھی ہوتا ہے۔ اخروٹ جس کثرت سے یہاں پیدا ہوتے ہیں کسی اور مقام پر اتنی بڑی تعداد میں پیدا نہیں ہوتے۔ اخروٹ کا تیل چراغ میں جلایا جاتا ہے۔ یہاں کی مرطوب آب و ہوا میں انگور میٹھا نہیں ہوتا۔ بادشاہ کے حضور میں بعض پھل پیش ہوئے جن میں شاہ آلو کا وزن ایک مثقال، سیب ستاون مثقال، اور زرد آلو انیس مثقال تھا،،

(بادشاہ نامہ۔ جلد اول۔ حصہ دوم)

پھولوں میں اچھا خاصا تنوع پیدا کیا گیا۔ چنانچہ بعض پھولوں کو ایک دوسرے کے ساتھ پیوند لگا کر ان میں مختلف رنگ پیدا کئے گئے۔ مثلاً گل یاسمن کئے رنگ کا ہوتا تھا، مگر سفید اور نیلا بکثرت باغوں میں ملتا تھا۔ گل سرخ کئی قسم کا ہوتا تھا۔ سوسن دو قسم کی تھی۔ عام باغوں میں اس کے پھول بڑے بڑے اور سبز رنگ کے ہوتے تھے۔ البتہ ہوائی سوسن کا رنگ ہلکا ہوتا تھا۔ مگر اس کی خوشبو اس سے زیادہ تیز ہوتی

تھی - شاہ جہاں ایک مرتبہ کشمیر میں باغ فرح بخش کی سیر کے لئے نکلا تو باغ میں گل سرخ کا ایک بوٹا نظر آیا جس پر پھول اور غنچے بکثرت موجود تھے - گننے پر معلوم ہوا کہ چار ہزار پانچ سو پھول اور غنچے ہیں - دوسرے دن دولت خانہ کے باغیچہ میں سوسن کا ایک پودا نظر آیا جس میں دو سو بارہ کھلے اور ان کھلے پھول موجود تھے - ملا عبدالحمید کہتا ہے:—

”پچیس ذی الحجہ ۱۰۵۰ھ در اثنائے سیر فرح بخش بوتۂ گل سرخ بنظر اقدس در آمد کہ چار ہزار و پانصد گل و غنچہ داشت - روز دیگر در باغیچہ دولت خانہ بوتہ سوسن دیدند کہ گل ہائے شگفتہ و نا شگفتۂ آں دو صد و دوازدہ بہ شمار آمد“

(بادشاہ نامہ جلد دوم)

ملا محمد صالح کا بیان ہے:—

”روزے در ہنگام اقامت چوں کشتی سوار بہ سیر باغ فیض بخش و فرح بخش تشریف بردند بوتۂ گل سرخ بنظر مبارک در آمد کہ چار ہزار و پانصد گل و غنچہ داشت - بہ روز دیگر بوتۂ سوسنی بدولت خانۂ دیدند کہ گلہائے شگفتہ و ناشگفتۂ آں دو صد دوازدہ بود“

(عمل صالح - جلد دوم - صفحہ ۳۱۹)

کشمیر ہندوستان کا بے نظیر خطہ ہے - قدرت نے بڑی فیاضی سے کام لے کر اسے طرح طرح کی رعنایوں سے مالا مال کر رکھا ہے - اس کا ہر منظر فردوس نظر اور جنت نگاہ ہے - اس کے حسین مناظر، دلکش فضائیں اور نظر فریب آبشاریں اس وقت تک بیکار، سادہ او غیر دلچسپ تھیں جب تک یہ علاقہ تیموریوں کے قبضہ میں نہیں آیا تھا - انہوں نے اسے دنیا کا بہشت اور کائنات کا حسین ترین مقام بنا دیا -

کشمیر کی جمالیاتی ترقی کا معراج شاہ جہاں کا زمانہ تھا۔ اس نے وہاں باغات لگوائے، پرشوکت عمارتیں بنوائیں اور اس کی خوبصورتی میں اضافہ کیا۔ آج وہاں کا ذرہ ذرہ زبان بے زبانی سے اس کی شوکت و عظمت کی داستان اور جاہ و جلال کا افسانہ سنا رہا ہے۔ آنکھیں دیکھتی ہیں۔ دل محسوس کرتا ہے۔ مگر زبان یارائے بیان نہیں پاتی کہ وہ کیا کہے اور کیا بتائے۔ جس طرح کوئی کامل فن مشاطہ ایک حسین و جمیل دوشیزہ کا بناؤ سنگار کر کے اس کے حسن میں چار چاند لگا دیتی ہے اسی طرح شاہ جہاں نے کشمیر کی نظر فریب وادی کو آراستہ و پیراستہ کر کے مجسم نگار خانہ بنا دیا۔

شاہ جہاں حقیقی معنوں میں باغوں کا زبردست معمار ہے۔ اس کے لگائے ہوئے باغ اگرچہ آج اپنی اصلی عظمت اور خوبصورتی کھو چکے ہیں پھر بھی سیاحان عالم سے خراج تحسین وصول کر رہے ہیں۔ تھکے ماندے دماغ، کلفت زدہ دل وہاں جا کر سکون پاتے ہیں اور دنیا و ما فیہا سے بے خبر ہو کر کچھ عرصہ کے لئے دنیا کے مکروہات سے کنارہ کش ہو جاتے ہیں۔ مگر سوال یہ ہے کہ آخر ان باغوں میں ایسی کونسی خوبی ہے کہ دیکھنے والا ان کی فضا میں اپنے آپ کو کھویا ہوا پاتا ہے؟ اس سوال کا جواب کوئی مشکل نہیں۔ تیموری باغوں کی خصوصیات جان لینے کے بعد ان کی قوت تسخیر خود بخود معلوم ہو جاتی ہے۔

فصیل بندی تیموری باغ کے لئے نہایت لازمی ہے۔ ایران اور ترکستان میں تمام باغوں کے گرد معمولی چار دیواری ہوتی تھی۔ اس کے بغیر کوئی باغ مکمل نہیں ہو سکتا تھا۔ مگر تیموریوں کی جدت پسندی نے اس میں بھی بہت کچھ ایزادیاں کیں۔ انہوں نے چار دیواری کو مستحکم فصیل سے بدل دیا۔ یہ عموماً مستطیل اینٹوں سے بنائی جاتی تھی اور اس کو زیادہ مضبوط کرنے کے لئے اس پر سرخ یا سفید چونے کا پلستر کر دیا جاتا تھا۔ وہ اسی پر ہی اکتفا نہیں کرتے تھے بلکہ اس کے

چاروں کونوں پر ھشت پہلو یا مثمن برج بنا کر اس کے حسن کو اور بھی چار چاند لگا دیتے تھے - ان برجوں کے اوپر چڑھنے کے لئے سیڑھیاں اور بیٹھنے کے لئے جگہ بنادی جاتی تھی - دیوار کے ایک سرے سے لے کر آخر تک مضبوط کنگرے لگا دئے جاتے تھے- جن سے فصیل کی ظاھری زیبائش اور بھی بڑھ جاتی تھی - زمانے کی روش کے ساتھ ساتھ فصیل کی شکل و صورت میں بھی تبدیلیاں ھوتی رھیں - یہاں تک کہ ایک وقت آیا جب فصیل میں عظیم الشان دروازے بھی تعمیر ھونے لگے - یہ دروازے قالبوتی ھوتے تھے اور ان میں طرح طرح کے نقش و نگار بھی کئے جاتے تھے - یہ نقش و نگار نہایت خوبصورت ، نفیس اور دلکش ھوتے تھے - امتداد زمانہ کے باوجود ابھی تک اپنی تازگی برقرار رکھے ھوئے ھیں اور دیکھنے والوں کو اپنے حسن دلاویز سے اب بھی مسحور کر لیتے ھیں -

باغ میں داخل ھونے کے لئے ایک بہت بڑا پھاٹک ھوتا تھا جس کے ساتھ عام طور پر نقارخانہ اور ایک پہلو میں حمام اور دوسرے پہلو میں شاھی نشیمن یا خواب گاھیں ھوتی تھیں - ان کی عظمت ، بنانے والوں کے جاہ و جلال اور قدرت و جبروت کا پتہ دیتی ھے- اکثر و بیشتر ان کی تعمیر میں سنگ سرخ استعمال کیا جاتا تھا - نفیس جالی دار پنجرے اس کی شان کو دوبالا کر دیتے تھے - دروازے میں داخل ھونے کے بعد باغ کا نظارہ اتنی مہلت نہیں دیتا کہ آپ باغ کی خاموش دیواروں یا پرعظمت دروازے سے ان کے بنانے والوں کی سطوت و جبرات کے افسانے سن سکیں - وہ تمام ذوق نظارہ کو اپنی طرف جذب کر لے گا اور ایک عجیب شان رعنائی کے ساتھ آپ کو دعوت نظارہ دے گا - آپ اس کی فضا سے اپنے قلب میں سرور اور سکون محسوس کریں گے مگر اس کے ساتھ ھی دل مرعوب ھوتا چلا جائے گا، نگاھیں سراپا حیرت بن جائیں گی - وہ دیکھیں گی اور پھر دیکھنے کی کوشش کریں گی - ان کی کلفت اور کسل مندی آن کی آن میں دور ھوجائے گی -

کشمیر میں تیموریوں نے ہمیشہ یہ کوشش کی ہے کہ شاہی باغوں کا پس منظر نہایت مناسب اور موزوں ہو۔ اس کے لئے وہ اپنے تمام جمالیاتی ذوق کو صرف کرتے اور کوئی ایسا پس منظر تلاش کرتے جس کا جواب اس سارے علاقے میں نہ ہو۔ ڈل کے کنارے کنارے انہوں نے جتنے باغ بنوائے ان کا پس منظر پہاڑوں کا سلسلۂ لا متناہی ہے، جن کا دامن ہرے بھرے درختوں کے جنگلوں سے اٹا ہوا ہوتا ہے، جن کی چوٹیاں سال کا اکثر حصہ برف سے ڈھکی رہتی ہیں - پہاڑوں کے دامن میں وہ بہتر سے بہتر موقعہ تلاش کرتے اور اسے اس طرح سے تراشتے کہ خود بخود زینوں کی صورت پیدا ہوتی چلی جاتی - ہر زینہ کافی کشادہ، وسیع، فراخ اور طویل ہوتا تھا۔ اس پر خاص ڈھب سے چمن بندی کی جاتی، طرح طرح کے پھول لگائے جاتے، پھول مختلف رنگ اور مختلف اقسام کے ہوتے۔ ان کی ترتیب بے حد حسین و جمیل ہوتی - انہیں خاص قرینے اور سلیقے سے آراستہ کیا جاتا - پھولوں کی کیاریاں بنائی جاتیں، درمیان میں سبزہ زار، ارد گرد درخت۔ غرضکہ کچھ اس قسم کا منظر پیدا کیا جاتا کہ اگر نگاہیں ہٹنا چاہیں تو ہٹ نہ سکیں - توجہ خود بخود جذب ہوتی چلی جائے - دور سے دیکھا جائے تو ایسا نظر آئے کہ پہاڑ ہر اس کی چوٹی سے دامن تک چمن زار کے زینے بنا دئے گئے ہیں - ان چمن زاروں میں بہتے ہوئے پانی کی چادریں کچھ عجیب بہار دیتی تھیں - پانی چھوٹی چھوٹی نہروں کی صورت میں باغ کے ہر حصے سے گزرتا تھا - بعض بعض مقامات پر یہ نہر چار چار پانچ پانچ گز چوڑی ہوتی - اس کا فرش ماہی پشت تراشے ہوئے پتھروں سے بنایا جاتا - گزرتا ہوا پانی سورج کی شعاعوں اور چاند کی کرنوں سے فضا میں عجیب دلفریبی پیدا کرتا - جب یہ نہریں چادر کی صورت میں بلندی سے نشیب کی طرف جاتیں تو اس طرح نظر آتا گویا سبز مخمل کے فرش پر صاف اور شفاف جالی کی سفید چادر بچھی ہوئی ہے۔

تیموری باغ بنانے سے پہلے پانی کا بندوبست کرتے - جس جگہ قدرتی چشمے، ندی نالے یا دریا میسر نہ آتے وہاں وہ کنوئیں کھدواتے یا کسی اور مصنوعی طریقے سے پانی کا بندوبست کرتے - پانی کی بہم رسانی کے متعلق مسلمانوں نے بحیثیت قوم خاص غور و فکر کیا اور اس پر انہوں نے کتابیں لکھیں - یہ کتابیں آج بھی دنیا کے کتب خانوں میں موجود ہیں جن سے پانی کو پستی سے بلندی کی جانب لے جانے ، پانی کا توازن قائم رکھنے ، پانی کی چرخی ، پانی کی کلوں ، سردابہ و گرمابہ کے متعلق تفصیلات مل سکتی ہیں - ہندوستان اور پاکستان کے کسی علاقے میں چلے جائیے ، جہاں کہیں مسلمان نے اپنا قدم رکھا وہاں اس نے اس کمال فن کا مظاہرہ کیا - مسلمانوں کو جب جنگ و جدل سے فرصت ملی تو انہوں نے پر امن صنعت گری کو ترقی دی - چنانچہ انہوں نے قلعے بنوائے ، محلات تعمیر کئے ، مقبرے بنوائے اور باغات لگوائے- ان سب میں پانی کی بہم رسانی کا انتظام موجود ہے - باغوں میں انہوں نے پانی کی بدولت ایک روح پرور سماں پیدا کیا - باغوں میں بہتی ہوئی نہریں ، آبشاریں ، جھرنے ، فوارے وغیرہ ان کے ذوق کا پورا پورا ثبوت بہم پہنچاتے ہیں - آگرہ ، لاهور ، دهلی ، فتحپور سیکری ، دکن اور سب سے بڑھ کر کشمیر کے تمام باغوں کو دیکھئے - وہاں تیموری باغوں کا جزو لاینفک مصنوعی یا قدرتی پانی کے چشمے ہوں گے - جن سے باغوں کی دنیا ہی بدل گئی ہے - ان کا حسن معراج کمال پر پہنچ گیا ہے - شمالی ہند میں نہریں آسانی سے بن سکتی تھیں - اس لئے انہوں نے اس سے کافی کام لیا ہے - جہاں نہروں کا بنانا مشکل تھا ، وہاں تیموریوں نے پانی کی چرخیاں لگا کر مصنوعی چشمے جاری کئے اور اس طرح اپنے جمالیاتی ذوق کی تسکین کی -

باغ میں پانی کئی طریقوں سے لایا جاتا - دریاؤں سے نہریں کاٹی جاتیں ، اس سے جہاں زراعت کو ترقی ہوتی ، وہاں باغات

کی شادابی کے لئے بھی پانی بافراط میسر آ جاتا ۔ باغ میں داخل ہونے پر نہر سے چھوٹی چھوٹی نالیاں کاٹ کر ان کا جال باغ کے چاروں طرف بچھایا جاتا ۔ اس طرح باغ کا کوئی گوشہ پانی سے محروم نہ رہتا ۔ پہاڑی علاقوں میں جہاں قدرتی چشمے موجود ہوتے ، وہاں بند مار کر پانی باغ میں لایا جاتا ۔ یہ پانی عجیب طرح سے باغ میں پھیلایا جاتا ۔ اور اس کے لئے ایسی نہریں تیار کی جاتیں جو پانی کی روانی کو تیز کرنے کی بجائے مدھم کردیتیں ۔ یہ پانی جہاں درختوں اور پودوں کو سینچنے کے کام آتا وھاں باغ کی فضا میں خنکی اور طراوت بھی پیدا کر دیتا ۔ عام طور پر اس بات کی کوشش کی جاتی کہ گدلا ، کثیف یا بدبو دار پانی باغ میں نہ جانے پائے اور یہ بھی کوشش ہوتی کہ پانی کو ایسے طریقے سے باغ میں لایا جائے کہ پانی کے بہنے سے نہر کی لہروں میں ترنم ریز اور شیریں آواز پیدا ہو اور اس طرح ایک روح نواز نغمہ باغ کی فضا میں گونج اٹھے ۔ اس مقصد کے لئے نہروں میں فوارے لگائے جاتے ۔ بڑے بڑے تالاب اور حوض کھودے جاتے اور باغ کے عین وسط میں کسی موزوں جگہ بڑے حوض کے درمیان ایک مختصر سی سنگین عمارت بنائی جاتی ۔ اس کی محرابیں ، اس کی چھت میناکاری کے کام کی وجہ سے باغ کی دوسری تمام عمارتوں سے ممتاز ہوتی ۔ اس کی بنانے میں اکثر چمک دار سیاہ پتھر یا سنگ مرمر استعمال کیا جاتا ۔ آج بھی یہ اپنے حسن اور لطافت کی وجہ سے تیموریوں کے مذاق کا پتہ دیتی ھیں ۔ اس قسم کی عمارت میں جو عام طور پر بارہ دری کی شکل میں ہوتی اور جس میں ہوا کی آمد و رفت کا معقول انتظام ہوتا تھا ، سنگ موسیٰ یا سنگ مرمر کے چبوترے بنے ہوتے جن پر خوبصورت ستون ان کے حسن کو دوبالا کرتے نظر آتے ۔ پتھروں کی چمک دمک آج صدیاں گزر جانے پر بھی قائم ھے ۔ ان عمارتوں کے گرداگرد فواروں کی قطاریں ہوتیں جو ایک خاص ترتیب اور قرینے سے لگائی جاتیں ۔ جب ہوا کے ہلکے ہلکے جھونکے آتے ،

حوض کی سطح پر لہریں پیدا ہوتیں اور اس کے ساتھ فوارے چھوٹتے ، تو عجیب بہار ہوتی ۔ بعض اوقات ان فواروں کا پانی پتھر کے بنے ہوئے نازک ، خوبصورت ، لطیف اور نفیس آفتابوں میں گرتا ۔ یہ آفتابے ایک ہی پتھر سے تراشے ہوئے اور نہروں ، روشوں یا کمروں کے فرشوں پر لگائے جاتے ۔ اس طرح تیموری باغ حسن مجسم بن جاتے اور باغ کی فضا میں ایسی دلاویزی پیدا ہو جاتی کہ بیان سے باہر ہے ۔ رات کے وقت آبشاروں کے نیچے چراغدانوں میں روشنی کی جاتی ۔ جب پانی اوپر سے گرتا تو گنگا جمنی روشنی پیدا ہوتی ۔ چاندنی میں اس کا عجیب لطف آتا ۔ موسم برسات میں جب کالی کالی گھٹائیں اٹھتیں تو فضا میں کسی قدر تاریکی پیدا ہو جاتی ۔ اس وقت ان چینی خانوں میں رنگ برنگ کے پھولوں کے حسین گلدستے رکھ دئے جاتے جس سے تمام فضا میں رنگ و بو کا طوفان برپا ہو جاتا ۔

کشمیر میں شالامار اور نشاط باغ تیموری تمدن کے دو مختلف پہلو پیش کرتے ہیں ۔ مگر جہاں تک پانی کی روانی کا تعلق ہے ، دونوں باغوں میں صاف طور پر نظر آتا ہے کہ پانی کی ایک نہر پورے جوش کے ساتھ ان باغوں میں داخل ہوتی ہے ۔ ایک حوض اس پانی کو اپنی آغوش میں لیتا ہے ۔ پھر فرط مسرت سے اسے چکر دیتا ہے ، نچاتا ہے اور فواروں سے اڑا دیتا ہے ۔ پانی بارہ بارہ پندرہ پندرہ فٹ اونچا اچھلتا ہے ، حوض میں گرتا ہے ، پھر بہتا ہے ، آبشار بن کر نیچے کے درجے میں گرتا ہے ، وہاں ادھر ادھر پھولوں اور سبزہ زاروں سے اٹھکھیلیاں کرتا ہے ، پھر چلتا ہے اور آبشار کی صورت میں نیچے گرتا ہے ۔ اوپر سے نیچے نظر دوڑائی جائے تو صاف دکھائی دیتا ہے کہ شفاف پانی کی چادریں اور فوارے بلندی سے رقص کرتے نیچے چلے آتے ہیں اور جب سب سے نچلے حوض میں پہنچتے ہیں تو باغ کی فضا الوداع کہہ کر ڈل میں گم ہو جاتے ہیں جو اپنے آغوش وا کئے اس کے انتظار میں کھڑی ہے ۔ پانی کی اس چادر کے گرنے سے سریلی آوازیں پیدا

ھوتی ھیں ، فواروں سے نغمے بلند ھوتے ھیں - صبح اور شام وھاں کے خوش الحان پرند ان کے ھم آواز ھوکر تمام فضا کو نغمہ و سرور سے بھر دیتے ھیں -

تیموریوں نے پانی کے انتظام میں ایک عجیب بندوبست یہ بھی کیا کہ بہتی ھوئی نہریں ، چلتے ھوئے فوارے اور گرتی ھوئی آبشاریں ان کے ایک معمولی سے اشارے سے رک جاتے اور چشم زدن میں پھر جاری ھو جاتے - اس مقصد کے لئے باغ کے سب سے اوپر کے طبقے میں انہوں نے اس حکمت سے کنجی لگائی کہ اگر انہیں پانی بند کرنا مطلوب ھوتا تو اسے ایک طرف گھما دیتے ، پانی کے جھرنے بند ھو جاتے اور جب اسے دوسری طرف پھیر دیتے تو پانی جاری ھو جاتا -

تیموری باغ ھمیشہ مستطیل یا مربع ھوتے اور ان کے کئی کئی طبقے ھوتے - ھر طبقہ برابر کے چار حصوں میں تقسیم ھوتا - یہ حصے عام طور پر مربع ھوتے اور از خود مکمل ھوتے - یہ حصے خیابان کہلاتے ایسا کرنے سے ان کی غایت یہ ھوتی کہ باغ زیادہ دلکش نظر آئے - درختوں ، پودوں اور پھولوں کے تناسب میں آسانی پیدا ھو - ھر خیابان کی شان جدا جدا ھوتی - کبھی کبھی ایسا ھوتا کہ ایک ھی باغ کے ایک خیابان میں لالہ کی کیاریاں ھوتیں - دوسرے خیابان میں گلاب کے خوبصورت پودے ھوتے - تیسرے میں یاسمن کے پھول کھلے ھوتے - اس طرح باغ میں ایک گنگا جمنی منظر پیدا ھو جاتا - ان خیابانوں کے گرداگرد بھی پانی کی بہتی ھوئی نہریں اور درخت بکثرت ھوتے- درخت خاص اھتمام سے لگاتے - ان کی بلندی اور پھیلاؤ کا خاص خیال رکھا جاتا اور ان کو برابر کے فاصلے پر بویا جاتا - اس طرح ان کی قطاریں دیکھنے کے قابل بن جاتیں -

کشمیر میں تیموریوں کے بعض باغ قدرتی چشموں پر واقع ھیں - ان میں ویری ناگ ، اچھہ بل ، صفاپور اور چشمہ شاھی کے باغ خاص طور پر قابل ذکر ھیں - ویری ناگ کا باغ ان سب

میں ممتاز ہے۔ یہی وہ باغ ہے جس کے متعلق کہا جاسکتا ہے کہ ہمیشہ شاہانہ توجہ کا مرکز رہا ہے۔ اس لئے اس میں شاہی باغ کی تمام خوبیاں موجود ہیں ۔ جہانگیر اور شاہ جہان کے زمانے میں اس باغ میں رد و بدل ہوتے رہے۔ آج ان کے بچے کھچے نشان ہمیں ملتے ہیں ۔ اس باغ میں بعض باتیں ایسی ہیں جو دوسرے باغوں میں نہیں ملتیں ۔ سب سے عجیب بات یہ ہے کہ چشمۂ ویری ناگ کو ہشت پہلو بنایا گیا ہے۔ جس کا مقصد یہ تھا کہ جب سورج کی شعاعیں اس پر پڑیں تو منعکس ہوں ، روشنی میں تڑپ پیدا ہو تاکہ یہ خوبصورت چشمہ اور زیادہ خوبصورت بن جائے ۔ جو نہر اس سے نکالی گئی ہے اس کی تہ میں ماہی پشت جال بچھا ہوا ہے۔ ماہی پشت جال بنانے میں یہ اہتمام رکھا جاتا تھا کہ جو پتھر فرش پر بچھائے جائیں وہ خانے دار ہوں تاکہ پانی ان سے ٹکرائے اور جب شعاعیں پڑیں تو ان سے مختلف رنگ پیدا ہوں ۔ بعض دفعہ چشموں کی تہ میں سیاہ رنگ کے پتھر ایسے طریقے سے رکھے جاتے تھے کہ ان کے دیکھنے سے معلوم ہوتا تھا کہ پانی میں لہریں اٹھ رہی ہیں اور اس میں زندہ مچھلیاں تیر رہی ہیں ۔ یہ اس طرح ہوتا تھا کہ پتھر کے ٹکڑوں کو اس طرح جوڑا جاتا کہ وہ خود بخود پر پیچ و خم ہوتے چلے جاتے۔ اس کے بہتریں نمونے اورنگ آباد ، کشمیر ، آگرہ اور دھلی میں مل سکتے ہیں ۔

تیموری اپنے باغوں کا ایک حصہ نگارستان کے لئے وقف کیا کرتے تھے، جس میں بادشاہوں کی تصویریں اور دیگر فنون لطیفہ کے اعلیٰ نمونے محفوظ رکھے جاتے تھے۔ کشمیر میں باغ نور افزا کا ایک حصہ اس مقصد کے لئے وقف تھا۔ یہ باغ ڈل کے کنارے واقع تھا ۔ اکبر کے عہد حکومت میں جب قلعہ ناگر نگر (ھری پربت) کی فصیل ڈل تک جا پہنچی تو دولت خانہ کی عمارت کو جو اس کے ساتھ تھی خوبصورت بنانے کے لئے اکبر نے حکم دیا کہ وھاں ایک خوش منظر باغ لگایا جائے ۔ یہ باغ دوسرے

تیموری باغوں کے مقابلے میں مختصر تھا ۔ اکبر اس میں بیٹھ کر مناظر قدرت اور ڈل کا لطف اٹھایا کرتا تھا ۔ اکبر کے آخری ایام میں یہ باغ کچھ بے رونق سا ہوگیا تھا ۔ چنانچہ جب جہانگیر پہلی مرتبہ کشمیر کی سیر کے لئے گیا تو اس باغ کی خرابی کو دیکھ کر ناخوش ہوا ۔ اس نے کشمیر کے ناظم معتمد خاں کو حکم دیا کہ باغیچہ کو از سر نو لگائے اور مکانات کو جو خراب ہو چکے ہیں از سر نو تعمیر کرائے ۔ معتمد خان نے پوری کوشش اور مستعدی کے ساتھ کام شروع کیا ۔ چنانچہ تھوڑے ہی عرصہ میں باغ کو تازہ رونق حاصل ہو گئی ۔ باغیچہ میں ایک بلند چبوترہ بتیس ذراع مربع بنایا گیا اور اسے تین قطعوں میں تقسیم کیا گیا ۔ پھر بڑے بڑے استادوں کی نادر تصاویر سے اسے سجا کر رشک نگارخانۂ چین بنا دیا گیا ۔ اب اس باغ کا نام باغ نور افروز رکھا گیا ۔ اس باغ کے اوپر کے حصے کی دیواروں پر جنت آشیانی ہمایوں بادشاہ اور عرش آشیانی اکبر بادشاہ کی شبیہن کھینچی گئیں ۔ ان کے مقابل میں جہانگیر اور شاہ عباس صفوی کی تصاویر بنائی گئیں ۔ ان کے بعد میرزا کامران ، میرزا محمد حکیم ، شاہ مراد اور سلطان دانیال کی تصاویر تھیں ۔ اس کی دوسری منزل میں بڑے بڑے امیروں اور خاص خاص کارندوں کی تصویریں بنوائی گئیں ۔ اطراف اور بیرون خانہ میں کشمیر کی راستے اور مناظر کھینچے گئے ۔ ایک شاعر نے اس کی تاریخ ان الفاظ سے نکالی :—

مجلسے شاہان سلیمان حشم

شالامار باغ لاہور میں باغ کے مشرقی حصہ کی طرف تصویر خانہ تھا ۔ اس حصہ کو ” عشرت نگار “ کے نام سے یاد کرتے ہیں اور یہاں نہایت اعلیٰ قسم کی نقاشی کی گئی تھی ۔ (مکاتیب عالمگیر صفحہ ٥)

تیموریوں نے اپنی نفاست پسندی کی بدولت باغات لگوائے اور ان میں رہنے کے لئے محل بنوائے اور مرنے کے بعد بھی انہوں

نے اپنے باغوں کو آخری آرام گاہ کے لئے منتخب کیا - ان کا یہ ذوق کشمیر میں خاص طور پر رنگ لایا - وہاں کی ہر صنعت اس سے اثر پذیر ہوئی - کشمیر کے بنے ہوئے شال، قالین، گبے، نمدے، پیپر ماشی کا کام، لکڑی اور چاندی کی بنی ہوئی چیزیں آج بھی ان کے اس تاثر کو ظاہر کر رہی ہیں - قالیں اور شالوں پر خوبصورت پھول اور ان کی نازک نازک پنکھڑیاں، لطیف بیلیں، چمن بندی کے مناظر اور باغوں کے پس منظر تیموریوں کے مذاق چمن سازی کے آئینہ دار ہیں -

فن تعمیرات پر بھی باغ نے اثر ڈالا - مسلمان جاندار چیز کی تصویر کشی پسند نہ کرتے تھے مگر اس کے باوجود ان میں مظاہروں سے لطف اندوز ہونے کا مادہ موجود تھا - اس کی خاطر انہوں نے اپنی عمارات کو پھولوں، بیلوں، گلدستوں، مرغولوں، پچی کاری، خاتم بندی اور گچ گاری سے سجانا شروع کیا - مسجد ہو یا مقبرہ، محل ہو یا حویلی - آپ جونہی ان میں داخل ہوں گے خوبصورت بیلیں، نازک نازک پھول، لطیف لطیف پنکھڑیاں اور پتیاں عجیب شان دلربائی کے ساتھ دیواروں اور محرابوں پر جلوہ آرائی کرتی نظر آئیں گی- ان میں اس قدر نفاست اور نزاکت ہوگی کہ آنکھ دیکھے گی، دل لذت اندوز ہوگا، زبان کچھ کہنا چاہے گی مگر الفاظ پر اسے قابو نہ ہوگا- یہ مظاہرے گچ کاری میں خاص طور پر نمایاں ہوتے ہیں اور جب ملک میں کاشی کاری کا رواج ہوا تو اس کی آرائش و زیبائش بھی گل و گلزار سے ہونے لگی، سرو و صنوبر کے درخت، انگور کی بیلیں، پھولوں کے گلدستے صراحیاں اور خود رو پھول مختلف رنگوں میں کاشی کار تختوں پر عمارتوں کی پیشانی اور دوسرے حصوں پر نظر آتے ہیں - جب سورج کی شعاعیں ان کے ساتھ کھیلتی ہیں تو ان کی چمک دمک ایک ایسا سماں پیدا کر دیتی ہے کہ دل خود بخود اس کی طرف کھنچا چلا جاتا ہے- لاہور میں وزیر خاں کی مسجد، گلابی باغ، علی مردان خاں کا مقبرہ، چوبرجی، مسجد دائی انگا اور تھٹہ

اور ملتان کی بہت سی عمارتیں آج بھی جاندیدہ سیاحوں سے خراج تحسین وصول کئے بغیر نہیں رہتیں -

اسی طرح پر چین کاری اور خاتم بندی میں بھی باغوں کے اثرات واضح اور صاف طور پر نظر آتے ہیں - مگر جو چیز باغوں سے سب سے زیادہ متاثر ہوئی وہ کتاب ہے - کتاب کی جلد گل و گلزار کا بہترین نمونہ ہے - کہیں اس پر نازک نازک بیلیں بنی ہوتی ہیں - کہیں تناور درخت ہوتے ہیں جو جلد کے پورے صفحے کو گھیر لیتے ہیں - کبھی کبھی ان پر گلدستے یا بکھرے ہوئے پھول بھی نظر آتے ہیں - یہ تو کتاب کا بیرونی حصہ ہوتا ہے جو اصل کتاب نہیں ہوتا - کتاب کی پیشانی ، اس کی جدول اور اس کے حاشیئے کی آرائش و زیبائش سراپا گلشن ہوتی ہے - کتاب کی تصویریں بھی بعض اوقات کسی باغ کا پس منظر لئے ہوتی ہیں - خط شکستہ ، خط ریحان ، خط گلزار وغیرہ بھی باغ اور باغ کے مختلف مناظر کے آئینہ دار ہیں -

کتاب کے علاوہ صنعت پارچہ بافی بھی باغ کے اثر سے آزاد نہیں - باندھنو ، چھینٹ ، گل کاری ، گل برے وغیرہ کیا ہیں باغ ہی کے مختلف روپ ہیں -

ہمارے ادب اور ہماری شاعری پر بھی باغ کی گہری چھاپ ہے - اپنی مجلسی زندگی سے اگر باغ کے تصور اور تخیئل کو خارج کر دیا جائے تو زندگی بالکل بے کیف ہوکر رہ جائے گی -

تیموریوں کے لگائے ہوئے باغ آج بھی موجود ہیں - ان کی فضا ویسی ہی لطیف ہے - ان کی آرائش و زیبائش بدستور قائم ہے - ان کا حسین و جمیل ماحول آج بھی روح کو سکون اور اطمینان بخش رہا ہے - زمانے کے انقلاب اور حادثوں نے ہر چیز پر اپنا اثر ڈالا مگر وہ اس انقلاب سے بالکل مصئوں و مامون ہیں - ان میں آج بھی وہ مسرت باقی ہے - ان کے دیکھنے سے قلب و دماغ آج بھی فرحت محسوس کرتے ہیں - سورج کی سنہری کرنوں اور چاند کی چاندنی میں ان کے فوارے جب فضا کے سکون میں تلاطم

پیدا کرتے ھیں تو دیکھنے والا بے ساختہ پکار اٹھتا ھے :—

اگر فردوس بر روئے زمین است
ھمین است و ھمین است و ھمین است

مضطرب اور پریشان حال انسان ، مصیبت سے گھبرائے ھوئے دل ، تھکے ماندے دماغ جب ان باغوں کی پر سکون فضاؤں میں سرو و شمشاد کے فلک بوس درختوں کے سائے اور سبزہ کی زمردین کیاریوں پر استراحت پذیر ھوتے ھیں تو دنیا و ما فیہا کا ذکر ان کے دلوں سے محو ھو جاتا ھے۔ قسم قسم کے پھول اور رنگ برنگ کے غنچے اپنی خوشبو سے ھوا میں مہک پیدا کرتے اور لطیف ھوا کے ھلکے ھلکے جھونکے اسے ادھر آدھر پھیلاتے ھیں تو ھر دل اور دماغ ان کی فضا میں مست ھو جاتا ھے۔ طبعیت اس میں محو ھو جاتی ھے۔ نگاھیں رنگ و بو کے اس منظر میں کھو جاتی ھیں اور کانوں میں آواز آتی ھے :—

سراپا گوش ھو جا باغ میں اے چشم نظارہ
زبان گل سے حسن یار کی تفسیر ھوتی ھے

شیواجی اور افضل خاں

از

ضیاء الدین احمد برنی - کراچی

باوجود اس کے کہ بیجاپور کے جنرل افضل خاں کے قتل کو تین سو سال ہو چکے ہیں ، بھارتی اخبارات میں آج بھی ایسے مضامین نکل رہے ہیں جن میں شیواجی کو بے گناہ ثابت کرنے کے لئے واقعات کو اس طرح توڑ مروڑ کر پیش کیا جاتا ہے کہ پڑھنے والے یہ سمجھنے لگ جائیں کہ ملاقات کے دوران میں حملہ افضل خاں کی طرف سے ہوا تھا اور شیواجی نے محض مدافعت میں اسے قتل کیا تھا - اس حقیقت سے کوئی بھی انکاری نہیں کہ افضل خاں شیواجی کے ہاتھوں قتل ہوا - انکار جس بات سے کیا جاتا ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ شیواجی نے ملاقات کا ڈھونگ صرف اس لئے رچایا تھا کہ وہ افضل خاں کو قتل کر دے -

اس سے قبل کہ میں اصل موضوع پر اظہار خیال کروں میں مراٹھوں کی عام سیرت کے بارے میں کچھ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں - اس سلسلہ میں دو تین واقعات بیان کرونگا - پہلا واقعہ گوگٹے کا ہے - یہ ایک مراٹھا طالب علم تھا جس نے بمبئی کے قائم مقام گورنر سر ارنسٹ ہاٹسن پر پچیس تیس سال قبل حملہ کیا تھا - اس اجمال کی تفصیل یہ ہے کہ پہلے تو سر ہاٹسن کو پونا کے مشہور فرگوسن کالج میں مدعو کیا گیا اور پھر اس معزز مہمان پر پستول سے حملہ کیا گیا - گولی یقیناً دل کے پار ہوجاتی اگر پرانی وضع کی پاکٹ ڈائری کا برنجی کلپ بیچ میں حائل نہ ہوتا - دوسرا واقعہ ناسک کے کلکٹر جیکسن کا ہے جسے ۱۹۰۹ء میں تھیٹر میں خاص طور پر کھیل دیکھنے کے لئے مدعو کیا گیا تھا اور پھر وہیں اسے نشانۂ پستول بنا دیا گیا - تیسرا واقعہ

مہاتما گاندھی کے قتل کا ہے جس سے آپ سب بخوبی واقف ہیں - قاتل گوڈسے نے تمام تیاریاں مکمل کر لینے کے بعد پہلے تو جھک کر مہاتما جی کو پرنام کیا اور پھر گھٹنوں کے بل بیٹھے بیٹھے دل پر گولی مارکر انہیں ہلاک کردیا - اسکے ظاہری طرز عمل سے یہ معلوم نہ ہوتا تھا کہ وہ مہاتما جی کو قتل کرنے کے ارادہ سے آ رہا ہے - اس کا انداز اخیر وقت تک نہایت معصومانہ رہا - اس نے اپنی بانہ پر "محمد" کا لفظ بھی گدوا رکھا تھا اس خیال سے کہ مارے جانے کی صورت میں قتل کا شبہ مسلمانوں پر کیا جائے اور وہی غریب اس فعل شنیعہ کے نتائج بھگتیں - شروع شروع میں البتہ کچھ دیر تک یہ غلط فہمی رہی کہ قاتل مسلمان ہے ، لیکن بہت جلد دھلی ریڈیو سے اعلان ہوگیا کہ مہاتما گاندھی کا قاتل مسلمان نہیں بلکہ ہندو ہے - ان چند واقعات سے جو اسی صدی کے ابتدائی حصہ سے تعلق رکھتے ہیں ، مراٹھوں کی سازشانہ افتاد طبعیت کا کچھ کچھ اندازہ ہو جاتا ہے - یہی افتاد طبیعت شیواجی کی فطرت کا نمایاں پہلو ہے - وہ اپنے مقصد کے حصول کے لئے کبھی تو انتہائی لجاجت آمیز طرز عمل اختیار کر لیتا تھا اور کبھی اپنے حقیقی رنگ میں ظاہر ہو جاتا تھا - اورنگ زیب کے نام شیواجی کے جن خطوط کا ترجمہ سر جادو ناتھ سرکار نے کیا ہے ان سے لکھنے والے کی ذہنیت پوری طرح بے نقاب ہو جاتی ہے -

افضل خاں کے قتل کا واقعہ صرف اتنا ہے کہ دربار بیجاپور نے شیواجی کی بڑھتی ہوئی لوٹ مار سے تنگ آکر افضل خاں کو اسکی سرکوبی کے لئے مقرر کیا - چنانچہ یہ جنرل زبردست فوج لیکر وائی کے میدان تک پہنچ گیا جو پرتاب گڑھ کے قریب واقع ہے - چنانچہ جب شیواجی کو مفر کی کوئی صورت نظر نہ آئی تو اس نے افضل خاں کے ہندو ملازم پنتوجی گوپی ناتھ کے ذریعہ نامہ و پیام شروع کردیا اور اسکے نتیجہ میں یہ طے پایا کہ دونوں سردار باہم اکیلے میں ملاقات کریں - پنتوجی نے افضل خاں

پر یہ ظاہر کیا کہ شیواجی آپ سے بہت خائف ہے اور آپ کی خدمت میں حاضر ہوکر اطاعت کرنے کو تیار ہے۔ شیواجی نے اس ہندو ملازم کو پہلے تو مذہب کے نام پر ابھارا اور جب دیکھا کہ تیر نشانہ پر بیٹھ رہا ہے تو اس نے اس کے لئے اور اس کی اولاد کے لئے ''انعام،، کے طور پر ایک گاؤں کی رشوت دیکر اسے مکمل طور پر راضی کر لیا کہ وہ تنہائی میں افضل خاں سے ایسے حالات میں ملاقات کرادیگا جو شیواجی کے مفید مطلب ہوں۔ یہ بھی طے ہوگیا تھا کہ ملاقات کے وقت ہی شیواجی افضل خاں کا کام تمام کردیگا۔

ملاقات کے وقت افضل خاں ململ کے لباس میں ملبوس تھا اور ایک تلوار زیب تن کئے ہوئے تھا۔ برخلاف اسکے شیواجی نے اندر زرہ بکتر پہن رکھا تھا۔ وہ خنجر سے مسلح تھا اور بائیں ہاتھ کی انگلیوں میں واگھ ناکھ چڑھا رکھا تھا تاکہ دوران ملاقات میں وہ اسکے ذریعہ افضل خاں کی انتڑیاں نکال دے۔ شیواجی ملاقات کے خیمہ میں بہت ہوشیاری سے اپنے ہاتھ کو چھپائے آہستہ آہستہ آیا۔ معانقہ میں شیواجی نے واگھ ناکھ کا استعمال کیا۔ افضل خاں نے جواباً تلوار چلائی جو زرہ بکتر کی وجہ سے شیواجی کو کوئی گزند نہ پہنچا سکی۔ اتنے میں شیواجی نے خنجر سے افضل خاں کا کام تمام کردیا۔ خاں کے منہ سے جو آخری الفاظ نکلے یہ تھے: ''دغا بازی، دغا بازی، مدد، مدد۔،، شیواجی کے همراهی اشارہ کے منتظر تھے اور انہوں نے آکر افضل خاں کا سر تن سے جدا کیا اور پھر وہ اسے پرتاب گڑھ کے قلعہ میں لے گئے تاکہ اپنی فتح کا اعلان کریں۔ اس کے بعد شیواجی کی فوجیں افضل خاں کے سپاہیوں پر ٹوٹ پڑیں اور انہیں بیحد نقصان پہنچایا۔

جے۔ آر۔ جیجی بھائی اپنی کتاب Bribery & Corruption in Bombay میں افضل خاں کے قتل کا واقعہ بیان کر کے رقمطراز ہیں: ''شیواجی نے اپنی ترغیب کو تحفوں کے ذریعہ مزید تقویت دی

اور میکبتھ کی جادوگر عورتوں کی طرح اس کے لئے اور اس کی اولاد کے لئے ہمیشہ ہمیشہ کے لئے ہیورا میں انعام کے طور پر گاؤں کی بخشش کر کے اس کے روشن مستقبل کی طرف اشارہ کیا۔ اے خدا، ناپاک روپے کو دیکھکر جب ایک مرتبہ نرم دل دغا بازی کو اپنا مشیر بنا لیتا ہے تو پھر اس کے سامنے ہر شریفانہ جذبہ راہ فرار اختیار کر لیتا ہے۔ ایک چھوٹے سے گاؤں کا مالک بننے اور ایک خود مختار رئیس کی حیثیت اختیار کر لینے کے خواب نے معاً بیجاپوری سفیر کے نرم دل کو پگھلادیا۔ وہ ایسی زبردست اپیل کو جس کے ساتھ ایسی دلفریب پیشکش بھی کی گئی ہو، رد نہ کر سکا اور اپنے آقا افضل خاں کو دھوکے کے ساتھ ایک کانفرنس میں بلوا دیا۔ اسکے بعد جو کچھ ہوا اس کا حال تاریخ کے اوراق میں محفوظ ہے،،

عربی کی ایک کہاوت ہے،، الحرب خدع،، یعنی لڑائی ایک دھوکا ہے۔ اگر مراٹھا مورخین مان لیتے کہ شیواجی نے اسی ضرب المثل پر عمل کرتے ہوئے اپنے دشمن کو قتل کر دیا تو پھر ہمیں ان سے کسی قسم کا شکوہ نہ ہوتا بلکہ الٹا ہم شیواجی کی تعریف کرتے۔ ایسی حالت میں شاید افضل خاں کو بھی مورد الزام قرار دیا جاتا کہ کیوں اس نے مرزا راجہ جے سنگھ کی طرح مکمل احتیاطی تدابیر اختیار کئے بغیر اندھا دھند ایک دشمن پر بھروسہ کر لیا۔ لیکن مراٹھا مورخین دھوکا دھی کا الزام افضل خاں کے سر پر تھوپ رہے ہیں حالانکہ یہی چیز شیواجی کے کردار کا مذموم ترین پہلو ہے۔

آج تک کسی ہندو مورخ نے کھلم کھلا اس بات کا اعتراف نہیں کیا کہ حملہ کرنے میں پہل شیواجی نے کی تھی۔ جادو ناتھ سرکار اس زمانہ کے سب سے مشہور مورخ ہو گزرے ہیں۔ ان کی عمر کا معتدبہ حصہ تاریخ مغلیہ کے مطالعہ میں صرف ہوا ہے اور اسلئے بجا طور پر ان سے توقع کیجاسکتی تھی کہ وہ جملہ واقعات کی روشنی میں بے لاگ رائے کا اظہار فرمائینگے،

لیکن انہوں نے شیواجی اور افضل خاں کے واقعہ پر سب کچھ لکھنے کے بعد صرف اتنا تحریر فرمایا ھے کہ ”یہ ان رازوں میں سے ایک ھے جو آج تک راز بنا ھوا ھے۔،، میرے علم میں بھائی پرمانند جی ھی وہ واحد مورخ ھیں جنہوں نے اپنی ”تاریخ ھند،، میں جسے عرصہ ھوا برطانوی حکومت نے ضبط کر لیا تھا اور جو غالباً پچیس تیس سال قبل شائع ھوئی تھی ، نہایت دیانتداری اور صفائی کے ساتھ کھلم کھلا ذیل کے الفاظ میں یوں اعتراف فرمایا ھے :—

”....... بیجاپور نے بہت تنگ آ کر سیواجی کو دبانا ضروری سمجھا اور ایک بڑی فوج دیکر افضل خاں کو اس کے مقابلہ کے لئے روانہ کیا ۔ اسوقت سیواجی پرتاب گڑہ میں تھا ۔ فوج کے پہنچنے پر اس نے افضل خاں کو بڑے خوشامدانہ پیغام بھیجنے شروع کئے جن میں اپنے پچھلے کاموں پر افسوس ظاھر کیا ۔ افضل خاں بھی صلح پر راضی ھوگیا اور ایک برھمن قاصد پنتوجی گوپی ناتھ ، سیواجی کے پاس روانہ کیا ۔ دن بھر ادھر ادھر کی باتیں کرکے سیواجی نے برھمن کو رات وھاں ھی رکھا ۔ آدھی رات کو سیواجی اس کے پاس گیا اور کہا جو کچھ میں نے کیا ھے اپنے لئے نہیں بلکہ ھندو قوم اور دھرم کی رکھشا کے لئے کیا ھے ، کیونکہ دیوی بھوانی نے خود مجھے حکم دیا ھے کہ دھرم کے دشمنوں کا ناش کر ۔ آپ برھمن ھیں ، آپ کا فرض ھے کہ میری امداد کرو ۔ ساتھ ھی اسے جاگیر دینے کا وعدہ کیا ۔ گوپی ناتھ نے بھوانی کی قسم کھائی کہ وہ سیواجی کی دل و جان سے امداد کریگا ۔

آخر یہ تجویز قرار پائی کہ افضل خاں کو
اکیلا سیواجی کے ساتھ ملایا جائے اور وہ اس
کا کام تمام کردے۔ گوپی ناتھ نے واپس
جاکر اس ملاقات پر افضل خاں کو راضی کر
لیا۔ افضل خاں اپنا رسالہ ساتھ لایا۔ گوپی ناتھ
نے اس خیال سے کہ سیواجی ڈر نہ جائے رسالہ
کو پیچھے کھڑا کرادیا۔ سیواجی نے اسے
ایک دھرم کا کام سمجھکر اس کے لئے تیاری
کی۔ ہاتھ منہ دھوکر اس نے اپنی ماتا کے
پاؤں پر گر کر اشیر باد لی۔ زرہ بکتر پہن کر
بچھوا اور واگنک ہاتھوں میں لے لئے اور
تیار ہو کر قلعہ سے اترا۔ افضل خاں اور
سیواجی دونوں اکیلے ملے۔ سیواجی نے اسپر
خنجر کا وار کیا۔ افضل خاں نے بھی اپنی
تلوار چلائی، مگر سیواجی کے زرہ بکتر پر اس
کا کچھ اثر نہ ہوا۔ سیواجی کے ہمراہی چھپے
ہوئے تھے، جھٹ آ پہنچے اور افضل خاں کا
سر کاٹ کر قلعہ میں لے گئے۔ موالی رسالہ
پر جا پڑے اور انہیں بھگادیا ...."

(تاریخ ہند از بھائی پرمانند جی۔ ایم، اے، صفحہ ۱۳۷ و ۱۳۸)

اس کے برعکس ہندوستان کے مشہور سیاسی لیڈر بال گنگا دھر
تلک کے الفاظ ملاحظہ فرمائیے۔ وہ رقمطراز ہیں :—

"افضل خاں کے قتل کے بارے میں مزید
تحقیقات کرنا بالکل غیر ضروری ہے۔ اگر یہ
فرض بھی کر لیا جائے کہ شیواجی نے جان
بوجھکر منصوبہ تیار کیا تھا اور قتل کا ارتکاب
کیا تھا تو بھی یہ سوال پیدا ہوتا ہے کہ
کیا یہ فعل اچھا تھا یا برا؟ اس سوال کا

جواب مجموعہٗ تعزیرات سے یا منو کے قوانین سے یا اخلاق کے ان اصولوں سے نہیں دیا جاسکتا جو مشرق و مغرب کے معلمین اخلاق کی جانب سے وضع کئے گئے ھیں - جس سماج پر قوانین کا اطلاق ھوتا ھے اس سے مراد مجھ جیسے اور آپ جیسے اشخاص ھیں - کوئی شخص کسی رشی کا شجرہٗ نسب دریافت نہیں کرتا اور نہ کسی مہاراج کو مجرم ھی قرار دیا جاسکتا ھے - بڑے آدمی اخلاق کے عام اصولوں سے بلند تر ھوتے ھیں - یہ اصول تو کسی بڑے آدمی کے پاؤں تک بھی نہیں پہنچتے - کیا شیواجی نے افضل خاں کا قتل کرنے میں کوئی جرم کیا تھا؟ اس کا جواب آپ کو خود مہا بھارت سے ملیگا - مقدس کرشن نے گیتا میں تعلیم دیتے ھوئے ھمیں بتایا ھے کہ ھم اپنے استادوں اور رشتہ داروں کو بھی قتل کر سکتے ھیں اور ھم پر کوئی الزام عائد نہیں ھوگا بشرطیکہ خود غرضانہ جذبات ھمارے فعل کے محرک نہ ھوں - یہ امر قابل تعریف ھے کہ اس نے دوسروں کے فائدہ کیلئے افضل خاں کو قتل کیا - اگر چور ھمارے گھر میں گھس آئیں اور ھم میں انہیں نکال دینے کی سکت نہ ھو تو کیا ھمیں اس بارے میں کسی قسم کی ھچکچاھٹ ھونی چاھئے کہ ھم انہیں اندر ھی بند کردیں اور زندہ نذر آتش کردیں؟ خدا نے یہ ملک ھندوستان پیتل کی تختی پر لافانی الفاظ میں لکھکر ملیچھوں کے حوالہ نہیں کردیا ھے - شیواجی نے اپنی زاد بوم سے

انہیں نکالنے کی کوشش کی تھی ، لیکن ایسا کرتے وقت وہ خود غرضی کے ہر گناہ سے مبرا تھا - اپنے نقطۂ نظر کو کوئیں کے مینڈکوں کی طرح محدود نہ کرو بلکہ مجموعۂ تعزیرات سے بلند ہوکر مقدس بگھوت گیتا کی پاک و صاف فضا میں اڑو اور پھر بڑے آدمیوں کے فعل پر غور کرو ،،

(انڈین ان ریسٹ - صفحہ ۴۶ و ۴۷)

اب کیا منطق کے ان پر پیچ گورکھ دھندوں اور استدلالوں سے بالواسطہ یہ ثابت نہیں ہوتا کہ شیواجی نے پہلے سے تیار کردہ منصوبہ کے ماتحت افضل خاں کو قتل کیا تھا ؟

اس سلسلہ میں، میں فارسی کے ایک منظوم خط کا ذکر کرنا چاہتا ہوں جس کا ترجمہ ”بمبئی کرانیکل،، کی یکم مئی ۱۹۲۷ء کی اشاعت میں شیواجی ، اسکی فوج ، اسکے دربار، اسکے قلعوں ، اسکے خود وغیرہ کے فوٹوؤں کے ساتھ نہایت اہتمام سے شائع ہوا تھا - تمہید میں درج تھا کہ یہ وہ خط ھے جسے شیواجی نے اورنگ زیب کے کمانڈر مرزا راجہ جے سنگھ کے نام بھیجا تھا جبکہ وہ ۳ مارچ ۱۶۶۵ء کو دکن پر حملہ کرنے کی غرض سے پونا پہنچا تھا - اس خط میں راجہ کو مذھب کے نام پر ھندو دھرم کے مخالفین سے الگ تھلگ رھنے کا مشورہ دیا گیا ھے اور آخر میں لکھا ھے کہ ”اگر میرے خط کا مناسب جواب آیا تو میں تنہا آپ کی خدمت میں آنے کو تیار ہوں ورنہ میں تلوار سے آپ کی فوج کا مقابلہ کرونگا،، (ضمناً یہ امر ملحوظ خاطر رھے کہ جب شیواجی شکستوں پر شکستیں کھانے کے بعد راجہ جے سنگھ سے تنہائی میں ملا تو بقول سر جادو ناتھ سرکار ”راجہ نے اسے اپنے پاس بٹھایا اور مسلح راجپوت چاروں طرف کھڑے کردئیے تاکہ افضل خاں کا قاتل کسی غدارانہ حرکت کا ارتکاب نہ کرسکے ،،) اس فارسی خط کی تاریخی صحت ابھی تک مشکوک

ہے - بہر حال اس منظوم خط میں خواہ وہ مستند ہو یا نہ ہو، چند شعر ایسے ملتے ہیں جن سے شیواجی کے جرم کی مزید توثیق ہو جاتی ہے - و ہو ھذا :-

۸۰- ز انجام افضل مشو بدگماں
که او را نبد راستی درمیاں

۸۱- ز زنگی سواراں پرخاش جو
ہزار و دو صد در کمین داشت او

۸۲- اگر پیش دستی نه کردم برو
که این نامه اکنوں نوشتی بتو

۸۳- مرا با تو چشم چنیں کار نیست
ترا خود بمن نیز پیکار نیست

۸۰- افضل خاں کے واقعہ سے شبہ میں نہ پڑیے - واقعات غلط طریقہ سے بیان کئے گئے ہیں -

۸۱- اس نے خفیہ طور پر بارہ سو بہادر حبشی سوار اپنے ساتھ رکھے تھے تاکہ وہ میری ہلاکت کا سامان کریں -

۸۲- اگر میں پہلے اسپر ہاتھ نہ اٹھاتا تو پھر میں آپ کو یہ خط کیسے لکھ سکتا تھا؟

۸۳- لیکن آپ کے بارے میں میرے دل میں اس قسم کی کوئی بات نہیں ہے اسلئے کہ ہم دونوں میں فطری دشمنی کا کوئی جذبہ نہیں ہے -

اس منظوم خط میں شیواجی نے اقرار کیا ہے کہ حملہ میں پہل اسی نے کی تھی - یہ نظم ۹۱ اشعار پر مشتمل ہے -

اب آخر میں، میں آپ کی خدمت میں دو خط پیش کرتا ہوں جو ستمبر و اکتوبر ۱۹۰۰ء میں جسٹس رانا ڈے کے نام لکھے گئے تھے اگرچہ ان کی اشاعت پہلی بار ۱۹۲۴ء میں ہوئی تھی - لکھنے والے کا نام ایس - ڈی - اٹھالیے ہے - اس شخص نے اپنے خطوں میں کچھ باتیں دریافت کی تھیں - پہلے خط میں اس نے پوچھا تھا :-

۱- اس تاریخی ملاقات کے لئے سلسلہ جنبانی کرنے میں کس نے پہل کی تھی ، افضل خاں نے یا شیواجی نے؟ مطلب یہ ھے کہ ملاقات کے لئے ایلچی پہلے کس نے بھیجے تھے؟

۲- کیا شیواجی حق بجانب نہیں تھا کہ وہ سب کچھ کرے جو عندالملاقات اس نے مناسب سمجھا ؟

اس خط کے جواب میں رانا ڈے نے لکھا تھا :-

" میرا خیال ھے کہ دونوں شرارت پر آمادہ تھے بشرطیکہ موقع مل جاتا - شیواجی کو موقع مل گیا اور اس نے اپنا مقصد حاصل کر لیا - شیواجی نے اپنے سپاھی بہت قریب متعین کئے تھے حالانکہ افضل خاں کی فوج بہت فاصلہ پر تھی "

اٹھالیے نے دوسرے خط میں لکھا کہ " آپ نے اپنی کتاب میں افضل خاں کے واقعہ کے بارے میں جو کچھ لکھا ھے، اس سے مجھے اطمینان نہیں ھوا - آپ نے اس میں مراٹھی بکھار کا یہ فقرہ نقل نہیں کیا کہ خاں نے شیواجی پر پہلے تلوار سے حملہ کیا تھا ، حالانکہ یہ چیز بہت اھم ھے- اسکے نہ لکھنے سے مراٹھوں کا کیس کمزور ھو گیا ھے - اگر آپ بھی یہ سمجھتے ھیں کہ یہ فقرہ بہت اھم ھے تو پھر سوال یہ ھے کہ وہ درج ھونے سے کیسے رہ گیا؟ تمام بکھار اس امر پر متفق ھیں کہ خاں نے شیواجی کے پاس سب سے پہلے اپنے قاصد بھیجے تھے - حالانکہ آپ نے لکھا ھے کہ شیواجی نے قاصد بھیجنے میں پہل کی تھی - اگر آپ کا نقطۂ نظر درست ھے تو بتائیے کہ آپ کے پاس اسکی کیا سند ھے؟"

رانا ڈے نے جو جواب دیا وہ حسب ذیل ھے :-

" کوئی دو مراٹھے بیانات واقعۂ متعلقہ کے متعلق باھم متفق نہیں ھیں اور اس لئے جو کچھ ھوا اس کا اندازہ زیادہ تر عالم خیال ھی میں کیا جاسکتا ھے - حال میں تنجور سے ایک بکھار دستیاب ھوا ھے - اس میں لکھا ھے کہ خدا ھی کو علم ھے کہ اصل حقیقت کیا ھے - جیسا کہ میں پہلے لکھ چکا ھوں - یہ بات

زیادہ اہم نہیں ہے کہ حملہ اور مدافعت کی تفصیلات میں جایا جائے - ہمیں فیصلہ کرتے وقت سابقہ نامہ و پیام ، تیاری، ایک کی دوسرے پر آخری کامیابی اور دونوں اشخاص کے فطری رجحانات پر زیادہ انحصار رکھنا ہوگا یہ معلوم کرنے کے لئے کہ اصل حقیقت کیا تھی ،،

جسٹس رانا ڈے نے جو معیار بتایا ہے وہ بہت صحیح ہے- شیواجی نے ملاقات کے لئے سلسلہ جنبانی کرنے میں پہل کی ، افضل خاں کے ھندو ملازم پنتوجی گوپی ناتھ کے ساتھ رشوت کے سہارے مکمل ساز باز کی اور تمام جزوی امور طے کئے اور پھر مکمل تیاری کرنے کے بعد دوران ملاقات میں پہلے سے طے کئے ہوئے پروگرام کے مطابق افضل خاں کا کام تمام کردیا - جب یہ سب کچھ ھو چکا تو اس نے اپنے موالیوں سے افضل خاں کے رسالہ پر اچانک حملہ کرادیا - ان تمام قرائن سے اس نتیجہ پر پہنچنے میں اب کوئی دقت نہ رہنے چاہئے کہ حملہ آور شیواجی ھی تھا -

ظہور اللہ خاں نوا اور اس کا ایک قصیدہ

از

مولوی محمد سلیمان بدایونی

بدایون میں اسلامی سلطنت کے قیام (۵۹۱ھ) کے بعد سب سے پہلا مشہور شاعر بدایوں کا شہاب الدین مہمرہ ولد جمال الدین المتوفی ۶۸۶ھ ہے جسکو فخر الملک عمید تولکی نے اوستاد کہا ہے[1]۔

امیر خسرو نے اپنی تصنیف ''غرۃ الکمال،، میں ''سلیمان ممالک سخن،، سے خطاب کیا[2] ہے ایک دوسری مثنوی ''ہشت بہشت،، کے خاتمہ پر لکھتے ہیں:

نور دل چون بعالم افگنده — سایه بر کار من هم افگنده
من بدو عرضه کرده نامهٔ خویش — او باصلاح راند خامهٔ خویش
چون همه عیب دید دشمن وار — شسته چون دوستان آئینه وار
هر چه او گفت می نهادم گوش — بر کشیدم مگس ز شربت نوش
انچه بنمود من نجستم پے — عیب آن بر من ست نے بر وے
انچه او دید بس نهایت دید — خس و خارے ز گلشن بر چید
یا رب او چون به پنج نامهٔ من — برد بیرون خطائے نامهٔ من
نامهٔ او که حرز جانش باد — در قیامت خط آمانش باد
شمع من یافته ضیا از وے — حسن من گشته کیمیا از وے

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1 ترجمہ منتخب التواریخ ۔ مطبوعہ نول کشور لکھنؤ سنہ ۱۸۸۷ء

2 الانہار یعنی تنقید ہشت بہشت ۔ مطبع انسٹی ٹیوٹ علی گڈھ ص ۳۱۲

شہاب مہمرہ رکن الدین فیروز بن شمس الدین التمش کے دربار کا ملک الشعرا تھا - انہوں نے اپنے اوائل عمر میں فیروز کو ایک قصیدہ ایک خاص صنعت میں پیش کیا تھا جس میں ایک سو اکتالیس اشعار تھی[1] - فیروز بدایون کا گورنر ۶۲۵ھ تا ۶۳۰ھ رہا- اس کے بعد لاہور کا گورنر رہا - التمش کے مرنے کے بعد دھلی کا بادشاہ ھوا - چھ مہینہ اٹھائیس دن حکومت کی -

دوسرا مشہور نام ضیا الدین نخشبی کا ھے- یہ شہاب مہمرہ کے شاگرد تھے - ان کی تصانیف میں ''طوطی نامہ،، بہت مشہور ھے جو درس میں تھا - اس کی مقبولیت کو دیکھتے ہوئے اکبر بادشاہ نے ملا عبدالقادر بدایونی کو حکم[2] دیا کہ وہ سنگھاسن بتیسی کا ترجمہ طوطی نامہ کی طرح کریں - تعمیل حکم ہوئی اور اس کا تاریخی نام ''نامہ خرد افزا،، رکھا گیا - ایک اور منظوم تصنیف ۷۲۸ھ کی نخشبی کی ''شرح ناطلبنی تجرنی،، ھے - یہ کتاب ۱۲۴۱ھ میں باھتمام رائے بیجنماتہ پرشاد مطبع مفید البرکات الہ آباد سے شائع ھوئی ھے - میری نظر سے گذری ھے - نخشبی کا انتقال ۷۵۱ھ میں ھوا - سید علاء الدین شاہ دھلی (۸۴۸ھ تا ۸۸۳ھ) یہ بادشاہ دھلی کو چھوڑ کر بدایون اقامت گزین ھو گیا تھا- اس کے دور کا علائق بے نوا بدایونی شاعر تھا جس کو بادشاہ نے ایک قصیدہ کے صلہ میں ۳۳۶۴ (تین ھزار تین سو چونسٹھ) ایکڑ اراضی کا گاؤں اعلے پور[3] عطا کیا - قصیدہ کا مطلع ھے[4]:

چسان نظیر تو گردید در شرف گوھر
ز کان فاطمہ ھستی و از صدف گوھر

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1 ذوالقرنین بدایون - مطبوعہ ۱۴ جولائی ۱۹۵۴ء - ص ۳

2 ترجمہ منتخب التواریخ - مطبوعہ نول کشور لکھنؤ سنہ ۱۸۸۷ء - ص ۲۸۴

3 اعلے پور آٹھ میل جانب شرق بدایون سے ہے - ٹاؤن ایریا ہے - آبادی ۱۷۹ نفوس کی ہے -

4 تاریخ بدایون قلمی - مولفہ منشی محمد کریم ڈپٹی کلکٹر محفوظہ محافظ خانہ کلکٹری بدایون و ڈسٹرک گزیٹر بدایون -

شیخ شمس الدین الملقب بہ جھجار خاں ولد شیخ سعداللہ تخلص زاھد المتوفی ۹۷۳ھ کو بیرم خاں خانان نے ایک قصیدہ[1] کے صلہ میں ایک لاکھ تنگہ انعام دیا تھا۔ اس کا مطلع ھے :

چون مہرۂ نگین سما شد فرو بہ آب
پر کار خاتمش بزمین داد لعل ناب

اسی دور کا دوسرا بدایونی شاعر جمال خاں ولد شیخ منگن تخلص ناصحی المتوفی ۹۶۹ھ یہ حاکم سنبل خاں کلاں المتخلص بہ غزنوی سے وابستہ تھا ۔ غزنوی نے ایک[2] مرتبہ سعدی کے اس شعر کو طرح کیا :

دلے کہ عاشق صابر بود مگر سنگ است
ز عشق تا بصبوری ھزار فر سنگ است

غزنوی : دمے کہ چہرۂ ساقی ز بادہ گلرنگ است
بنوش بادہ بر آواز نے کہ دل تنگ است

ناصحی : ترا رخ از مئے عشرت مدام گلرنگ است
مرا بفکر دھانت چو غنچہ دل تنگ است

طبقات الشعراء مولفہ قدرت اللہ شوق ۱۱۸۷ھ اپنے دور کے چند بدایونی شعراء کا تذکرہ کیا ھے جو حسب ذیل ھیں :

”شیخ اکرام اللہ محشر ، حافظ امیرالدین امیر ، معین الدین معین ، شیخ ظہوراللہ نوا ، عزیزالدین بیجان (بسولی) ، شیخ محمد واصل ، اعزالدین عزیز عثمانی ، محمد جلیس جلیس ، حیات اللہ گوھری کایستہ ، محمد خلیل ابن محمد جلیس ، وھاب الدیں موجد ، سلیم اللہ راضی ، ھمت سنگہ (شیخوپور) محمد صدر عباسی “

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1 ترجمہ منتخب التواریخ ص ۲۲۲ و ۲۲۳ ۔ خزانہ عامرہ ص ۴۵۹ ۔ دربار اکبری ص ۱۹۳
2 ترجمہ منتخب التواریخ ۔ ص ۵۱۱

معین الدین معین ولد عبدالوالی کی بابت لکھتے ھیں :

"معین الدین برادر حافظ امیر الدین امیر مسطور
جوان خوشرو و خوش گو است - از مدتے در رکاب
سعادت پناہ ظل اللہ شاہ عالم بادشاہ می ماند و
ھر سال قصیدہ جشن تیار نمودہ می گزراند
وصل لایق از حضور پر نور می یابد"

اس مضمون کی غرض و غایت شعراء بدایون کا تذکرہ نہیں ھے بلکہ وھاں کے ایک شاعر کا ایک خصوصی کارنامہ پیش کرنا ھے - اسلئے تمہید کے طور پر چند باکمال کا اجمالی تذکرہ کردیا - جو کچھ ظہور اللہ ولد دلیل اللہ - نوا تخلص - حکیم بقاء اللہ خان بقا اکبرابادی سے - فن شعر میں تلمذ تحصیل علم علماء[1] بخارا اور فضلا لکھنؤ سے کیا - وطن سے عرصہ تک باھر رھے - زاید زمانہ لکھنؤ بسر کیا - حیدرآباد گئے - ھندوستان پر اغیار کے قبضہ کو بڑھتا دیکھکر ایران کا رخ کیا - فتح علی شاہ قاچار (۱۷۹۷ء تا ۱۸۳۲ء) ایران کا بادشاہ تھا - شاھی دربار کا شاعر فتح علی خاں صبہا تھا - ایران پہونچکر ایک عرصہ میں دربار تک رسائی ھوئی شاہ کی خدمت میں پیش کرکے ھندوستان کی سیاسی حالت کا فوٹو الفاظ میں کھینچکر عرض مطلب کیا ھے - تقریباً سات سال کے بعد واپس آئے - کلاہ پوشان مغرب کو وطن پر قابض پایا - ۱۲۴۶ھ میں انتقال کیا کسی نے :

" ز مرگ نوا بے سرو پا شدند
سخا و سخن جود و ھمت بہ ھند"

حکیم محمد وحیداللہ بدایونی :

ظہور اللہ خان آن سعدی ھند
نبودہ مثل او در دھر شاعر

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1 گلشن بیخار - سطبوعہ ۱۲۹۵ھ و تاریخ فرخ آباد مولوی ولی اللہ قلمی -

چو در جنت رسیده گفت رضوان
نوا فخر بدایون بود و زایر

کلام زاید تر فارسی کا ھے جس میں غزل ۔ قصیدہ ۔ ھجو ۔ مثنوی اور رباعیات ھیں ۔ اردو کلام میں ایک مختصر سا غیر مطبوعہ دیوان تھا، نایاب ھے ۔ ایک مثنوی ''وامق و عذرا'' مطبوعہ ھے جسکا قلمی نسخہ میرے پاس ھے ۔ فارسی کلام غیر مطبوعہ میرے پاس ھے ۔ اردو کی چند غزلیات تذکروں میں ملتی ھیں ۔

قصیدہ جو فتح علی شاہ قاچار کی خدمت میں پیش کیا گیا تھا حسب ذیل ھے :—

در هند از بد گوهران آفت پدیدار آمده
شد سبز نخل فتنه ها ظلم و بلا بار آمده

مفتی است مفت ناکسان قاضی بقازے شد گران
در عرصهٔ هندوستان شاهی[2] بسنار[3] آمده

باطل ره حق را زده شد مدرسه آتش کده
هر مسجد از جشن سده[4] لبریز کفار آمده

دارد ذهول[5] اسلام و دین عزلت گزین بین مومنین
هر سر زار باب یقین تاج سر دار آمده

از غصه پر خون شد جگر و ز هر تنور چشم تر
طوفان آتش را نگر زین رخنه سرشار آمده

این آب آتش رنگ بین در دیده هائے مومنین
هر دل ز جور مشرکین از بس که افگار آمده

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1 مختصر سیر ہندوستان المحے بتاریخ نو ۔ مطبع احمدی ص ۹۳
2 شاھی ایرانی سکہ جو پچاس دینار کی برابر ہے ۔
3 سنار تانبے کا سکہ ۔
4 جشن سدہ ۔ بہمن مہینہ کی دسوین تاریخ کو منایا جاتا ہے ۔
5 ذہول ۔ غفلت یا فراموشی ۔

صد آب را در زیر[1] هشت این قوم کافر کیش زشت
هر جا که نخل کینه کشت آخر به اثمار آمده

آب خرابات[2] آبرو بر[3] دست از اهل وضو
هر مسجد از جام و سبو در نالهٔ زار آمده

هر کس که بوداست آب‌دار اکنون است این مقدار خوار
نخل مراعات کبار از بس که بے بار آمده

بود آنکه ذی لعل و گہر آبے ندارد[4] در جگر
زر از برائے گاؤ خر قنطار قنطار آمده

هر کافر آتش سخن بے صرصر در هر انجمن
شعله زن بر جان و تن چون آتشین مار آمده

برنس بدل بار دار راهن به منبر کرد جا
در دانه هائے سبحه ها هر تار زنار[5] آمده

باسگ[6] شدند اندر جوال از بخت نا میمون خصال
در هند بر اهل جلال این روز بد بار آمده

باغی ز بس گستاخ شد ببریده بیخ و شاخ شد
خود آسمان سوراخ شد بر دل ازان بار آمده

احوال هندوستان ز من کن گوش ایشان ز من
در هند و سند و هم دکن زایت نگو نسار آمده

بر گیر اشهب راعنان در ده فسانے بر سنان
از روم تا هندوستان تیغ تو خونبار آمده

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1 آب زیر هشتن - فریب دینا -
2 آب خرابات - شراب -
3 آبرو بردن - بے عزت کرنا -
4 آب در جگر نداشتن - مفلس هونا -
5 تار زنار - وه ڈوری جو پادری اپنی کمر میں باندھتے هیں -
6 باسگ در جوال شدن - عذاب میں پھنسنا -

یاقوت[1] از الماس[2] ریز آتش ز برق توپ بیز
زحمت بمیدان ستیز افعی خونخوار آمده

بشکن صغوف مشرکین آفاق کن زیر نگین
الطاف رب العالمین بخت ترا یار آمده

خطی سنان آور بکف کن سینهٔ اعدا هدف
بهر تو از شاه نجف امداد بسیار آمده

از دشمن دین خسروا خنجر ز خنجر کن جدا
بهر تو افضال خدا اعوان و انصار آمده

اے آفتاب داد گر شام جهان را کن سحر
روز سیاه ذی هنر رشک شب تار آمده

اے شا جمشیدی کلا وے ماه گردون بارگاه
زعب تو برخیل و سپه جانکاه اشرار آمده

بیدار فرما بخت هند احسان بحال سخت هند
بهر تو تاج و تخت هند از بس سزاوار آمده

هر ذرهٔ کن کامیاب از شرق چون خورشید تاب
تا گویدت هر شیخ و شاب اشراق انوار آمده

از لطف خاص حیدری در معرکه کن صفدری
در طالع تو یاوری از فضل داوار آمده

تا شد حود بے حیا پا دار در روز و نما
بایع سر او شد قضا خنجر خریدار آمده

اے خسرو انصاف خو بر فرق خصم زشت رو
هر سطرے از منشور تو برنده منشار[3] آمده

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1 یاقوت سے مراد قطرات خون -

2 الماس سے مراد تلوار -

3 منشار - آری -

اے شہر یار کامگار آبے بجوئے[1] ہند آر
اقبال ہندوستانیان پامال اد بار آمدہ
در جوئے تست امروز آب از تشنگان رو را متاب
اے خسرو مالک رقاب آر امم اوار آمدہ
گوساله هائے سحر زا کردند در شیر آب را
از تو کلیمی خسروا امروز در کار آمدہ
تدبیر هندوستانیان سودن[2] بهاون آب دان
هر یک ازین بد جوهران بے ننگ و بے عار آمدہ
این هندیان زن سیر از دهشت هر گاؤ خر
چون طوطی بے بال و پر بیرون ز گلزار آمدہ
خیل دکن هست ان جهان کز هیبت این کافران
از فضل و ز هر آب شان تر جمله شلوار آمدہ
در خواب مرد بے خبر بیند فرنگی را اگر
آنرا بصد عمر دگر مسهل نه در کار آمدہ
باغیست بے سرو سهی نام ورم شد فر بهی
شد بیشه از شیران تهی خنزیر سرکار آمدہ
روبه امیری می کند گیدی دلیری می کند
سگ لوله شیری می کند خر بچه سردار آمدہ
اینجاست صعوه جنگ جو عصفور شد شاهین خو
بو زینئه بے آبرو هر سو سپهدار آمدہ
هر کس که بود آراسته از ظلم شان شد کاسته
و ز آستان برخاسته در کوی و بازار آمدہ
صد باد در سر کافران دارند در هندوستان
هر مشرک بے خانمان مکثار[3] و مهندار[4] آمدہ

1 آب بجو آوردن - کام بنانا -
2 آب بهاون سودن - بیکار کام کرنا -
3 مکثار - بہت بولنے والا -
4 مهندار - بیہودہ بکنے والا -

اے بادشاہ داد گر با دل عالم نگر
هر جان ازین بار گران یکسر به آزار آمده

یک فوج آهن[1] خاء روان کن جانب هندوستان
بر درگهت این مدح خوان از بهر این کار آمده

زهره عدو را آب کن و ز خون روان سیلاب کن
این فتنه را در خواب کن بخت تو بیدار آمده

آب تو روشن در جهان هست از زمین تا آسمان
هر آتش[2] بسته سنان گلدست[3] کفار آمده

بر هند کن عزم غزا آتش بزن کفار را
بر بند مردانه کمر هنگام افرار آمده

از هندیان شام و سحر پائین پرستی را نگر
وانگاه پاتابه[4] کشا کاین مژده ز ابرار آمده

هان چار گامه اسپ تاز اعدائے دین را گداز
دست سیاست کن دراز اینت سزاوار آمده

روئے تو روشن چون قمر رائے تو از خورشید تر
هر پایه تخت تو سرا ز چرخ دوار آمده

بر خرمن عمر خسان تیغ تو برق جانستان
طبع تو بحر بیکران دستت گهر بار آمده

ایوانت را بر چرخ پاکیوان ترا صاجب سرا
قهر تو اعدا را چولا بر نفی اعمار آمده

در یاد تو اوراد خوان بر یاد تو چشم کسان
در خطبهٔ هندوستان اسمت در اذکار آمده

کفار را تاراج کن دلهائے شان آماج کن
این قوم را اخراج کن هنگام این کار آمده

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1 آهن خاء ـ کنایه از اسپ توانا و پر زور ـ

2 آتش بسته ـ آتش بار ـ

3 گلدست ـ نشیمن ـ

4 پاتا به کشادن ـ اقامت کردن ـ

زن چار گامہ باد پاکاب روانت خسروا
جان و دل حساد را سوزندہ چون نار آمدہ

این کافران را کن مقر[1] در پاے ماچان[2]
در خلقت از آفات و شر خالق نگہدار آمدہ

سازد ز قندش پر دہان گوید چو منہی[3] ناگہان
یاران پئے ہندوستان شاہم بقندھار آمدہ

از آب شمشیر دو سر کن موج زن بحر شرر
کاین ساعت رنج و ضرر از بہر فجار آمدہ

کن سیل خون چندان روان تا بشنوم از قدسیان
کاین لا جوردی طیلسان[4] ہمرنگ گلنار آمدہ

آغاز پا پیچد[5] نست انجام دشمن دیدنست
از باغ ہند اکنون دمے بر چیدن خار آمدہ

ہر جا کہ خون دشمنان ز آب[6] روانت شد روان
در چشم چون لالہ ستان صحرا و کہسار آمدہ

بر قتل این بد مذہبان قسیس و رہبان را سگان
عیسیٰ ابن مریم ہر زمان بہرت مددگار آمدہ

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1 مقر ـ جائے قرار ـ

2 پائے ماچان ـ تعذیب درویشان ـ درویشوں کی سزا کا طریقہ ـ درویشوں میں یہ رسم ہے کہ اگر کسی درویش سے کوئی خطا ہو تو اسکو صف لغال میں کان پکڑے ایک پیر پر کھڑا کرتے ہیں

3 منہی ـ خبر دینے والا

4 طیلسان ـ چادر ـ

5 پا پیچیدن ـ ٹوٹنا اور کمزوری سے پیر میں پیر ڈالنا

6 آب ـ تیزی تیغ ـ تلوار کی دھار

فن خطاطی کا ایک نادر ذخیرہ

از

محمد ایوب قادری

مسلمانوں نے ہر دور میں علوم و فنون کی بہت گرانقدر خدمات انجام دی ہیں اور بڑی قدردانی و سرپرستی کی ہے۔ جس علم و فن سے بھی ان کو تعلق ہوا اس میں انہوں نے امتیاز حاصل کیا اور قابل قدر اضافے کئے۔ خصوصاً فن خطاطی میں مسلمانوں کے بڑے کارنامے ہیں۔ حقیقت یہ ہے کہ ہم خطاطی کو خالص اسلامی فن کہہ سکتے ہیں۔ فن خطاطی سے مسلمانوں کے جمالیاتی ذوق کا اندازہ ہوتا ہے۔ اس فن سے نہ صرف طلباء، مدرسین اور ذی علم حضرات ہی کو تعلق رہا بلکہ بڑے بڑے امیروں، شہزادوں اور بادشاہوں نے بھی خطاطی کے بہترین نمونے یادگار چھوڑے ہیں۔ یہاں ہمیں خطاطی کے ایک نادر ذخیرہ کا تعارف کرانا مقصود ہے جس سے ہمارے ثقافتی ورثہ میں بعض گم شدہ نوادر کا اضافہ ہوگا اور فن خطاطی کی تاریخ کی تدوین میں مدد ملے گی۔

فن خطاطی کا یہ نادر ذخیرہ ۲۱۱ قطعات پر مشتمل ہے جس میں بعض مشہور و معروف خطاط مثلاً میر پنجہ کش، میر جلال الدین، عباداللہ بیگ اور شنکر ناتھ دھلوی وغیرہ کے قطعات نیز عبدالرشید دیلمی اور میر علی کے قطعات کی نقول شامل ہیں۔ ہم اس مجموعہ کو مضمون کی ترتیب کی سہولت کے پیش نظر چار حصوں میں تقسیم کرتے ہیں۔ (ا) ان خوش نویسوں کے قطعات جن کے حالات عام طور سے ملتے ہیں۔ (ب) وہ قطعات جن میں خوش نویسوں کے نام اور دوسری معلومات دی ہوئی ہیں۔ (ج) وہ قطعات جن میں خوش نویس کا نام نہیں ہے مگر بعض دوسری مفید معلومات دی ہوئی ہیں۔ مثلاً کس کی وصلی کا نمونہ

یا چربہ ہے یا کس کی فرمائش پر لکھا گیا ہے وغیرہ وغیرہ ۔
(د) وہ قطعات جن میں سوائے عبارت کے اور کچھ تحریر نہیں ہے ۔

ان قطعات سے فن خطاطی کے متعلق بعض نئی اور مفید معلومات ہوئیں ۔ مثلاً مفتی صدرالدین آزردہ دہلوی ایک عالم و فاضل کی حیثیت سے متعارف ہیں لیکن اب معلوم ہوا کہ وہ بہترین قسم کے خطاط بھی تھے اور اس فن میں انہوں نے سراج الدین ابو ظفر شاہ دہلی سے استفادہ کیا تھا ۔ یہ تمام قطعات اب نیشنل میوزیم آف پاکستان (کراچی) کی ملکیت ہیں ۔

(۱)

میر پنجہ کش

اصل نام محمد امیر رضوی ہے ۔ دہلی کے مشہور خطاط تھے ۔ فن پنجہ کشی میں استاد کامل تھے اسی لئے میر پنجہ کش کے لقب سے مشہور ہیں ۔ مولف تذکرۂ خوش نویساں[1] لکھتے ہیں "در ہنر پنجہ کشی و کشتی و بانک و مصوری و نقاشی و لوح و جدول و صحافی و علاقہ بندی و سنگتراشی وغیرہ دستگاہ کامل دارند" ۔ ابتداء میں قدیم اساتذہ کے طرز پر لکھتے رہے مگر بعد میں مولانا غلام محمد دہلوی مولف تذکرۂ خوش نویساں کے مشورہ پر آقا عبدالرشید دیلمی کا انداز اختیار کیا اور اس میں ایسا کمال حاصل کیا کہ آقا دیلمی اور میر پنجہ کش کے نوشتوں میں امتیاز مشکل ہوگیا ۔ مہاراجہ الور کی فرمائش پر سترہ سال میں گلستان لکھی[2] ۔ مولف تذکرۂ خوش نویساں سے میر پنجہ کش کے بڑے اچھے تعلقات تھے ۔ انقلاب ۱۸۵۷ء میں میر پنجہ کش کو گولی مار دی گئی ۔ سر سید احمد خاں نے آثار الصنادید میں خوش نویسوں میں سب سے اول میر پنجہ کش کا ذکر کیا ہے[3] ۔

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1 مولانا غلام محمد دہلوی ۔ تذکرہ خوش نویساں ۔ ص ۷۱ (مطبع بیپٹس مشن کلکتہ ۱۳۲۸ ھ)
2 یوسف بخاری ۔ برصغیر میں خطاطی ۔ ماہ نو کراچی جلد ۱۱، شمارہ ۶ (ستمبر ۱۹۵۸ء)
3 سر سید احمد خاں بہادر ۔ آثار الصنادید (باب چہارم) ۔ ص ۱۲۰ (مطبع نول کشور لکھنؤ ۱۸۷۶ء)

(۱) میر پنجہ کش کے دو قطعات ہیں، قطعہ اول پر مندرجہ ذیل عبرت آموز شعر ہے:

سکندر آیا زمین ناپتا جوتا لب گور
صدا یہ گوش میں آئی دہان تربت سے
بس اب نہ کیجئے گام و رسن سے پیمائش
یہاں کی ہوگی مساحت جریب قامت سے

یہ قطعہ ۱۲۰۳ھ کا مخطوطہ ہے۔

(۲) دوسرا قطعہ میر پنجہ کش کی وصلی کا چربہ ہے جس پر یہ شعر تحریر ہے:

سگ حق ناشناس * بہ از آدمی ناسپاس

(۳) میر پنجہ کش کا ایک خاکہ ہے جس میں تحریر ہے "منہو ماں لا یشبعاں" نیچے تحریر ہے "مشقہ محمد امیر رضوی" خط نستعلیق میں دو اشعار بھی تحریر ہیں:

خط از جملہ هنر ها دلپذیر است
اگر منعم بود آرائش او است
چو روح اندر تن برناؤ پیر است
و گر درویش باشد دستگیر است

شنکر ناتھ کشمیری پنڈت، دھلی وطن اور نادر تخلص تھا۔ صالح، خلیق اور مودب تھے۔ ابتداء میں خط نستعلیق و شفیعہ کی مشق مولانا غلام محمد دھلوی مولف تذکرہ خوش نویساں دھلی سے کی[1]۔ خط شکستہ مولوی حیات علی سے سیکھا۔ سید احمد خاں لکھتے ہیں کہ مولوی حیات علی کے بعد خط شکستہ میں ان (شنکر ناتھ) سے بہتر شاھجہان آباد میں کوئی نہیں ہوا[2]۔ تقریباً ۱۲۶۰ھ میں انتقال ہوا[3]۔

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1 تذکرہ خوش نویساں۔ ص ۱۲۲

2 آثار الصنادید۔ ص ۱۲۲ (باب چہارم)

3 تذکرہ خوش نویساں۔ ص ۱۲۲ (حاشیہ)

(۱) شنکر ناتھ کے ۲۳ قطعات ہیں جن میں سے چار پر واضح طور سے "شنکر ناتھ" تحریر ہے۔ ایک اکبر شاہ کے سن جلوس سنہ ۲۱ مطابق ۱۲۵۲ھ کا ہے۔ دوسرا ابو ظفر بہادر شاہ کے سن جلوس سنہ ۲ مطابق ۱۲۵۴ھ کا ہے۔ شنکر ناتھ نے ایک قطعہ پر اپنے لڑکے کا نام امر ناتھ لکھا ہے۔

(۲) اٹھارہ نمونے ایسے ہیں جن پر شنکر ناتھ نہیں لکھا ہے مگر واضح طور سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ یہ شنکر ناتھ کی تحریر ہے۔ یہ اٹھارہ تختیاں حروف تہجی کے درج ذیل الفاظ کی مشقیں ہیں:

ب . عدد ج ۴ عدد س ۲ عدد ص ۲ عدد ط ۳ عدد
ع ۱ عدد ف ۲ عدد ک ۱ عدد اور ق ۱ عدد

ان تختیوں میں سب سے اہم بات یہ ہے کہ ان میں خط شفیعہ کی مشق جلی حروف میں کی گئی ہے۔ عام طور سے جلی حروف میں مشق نہیں ملتی ہے۔

میر جلال الدین

میر جلال الدین کے والد میر امام علی اپنے زمانہ کے مشہور خطاط تھے۔ فن نسخ میں کمال رکھتے تھے۔ میر جلال الدین نے بھی خط نسخ اپنے والد سے سیکھا۔ ابو ظفر بہادر شاہ نے میر امام علی اور میر جلال الدین دونوں سے فن خوش نویسی سیکھا تھا[1]۔ میر امام علی کے ہاتھ کے لکھے ہوئے قرآن کریم کی بیس جلدیں اور میر جلال الدین کی ہاتھ کی لکھی ہوئی سات جلدیں انقلاب ۱۸۵۷ء میں دہلی میں ضائع ہوگئیں۔ یہ تمام جلدیں مطلا و مذہب تھیں[2]۔ میر جلال الدین مشہور شاعر ظہیر دہلوی کے والد تھے۔ "مرصع رقم" کے خطاب سے سرفراز تھے۔ میر جلال الدین کا تحریر کردہ ایک قطعہ ہے جو خط نسخ کا بہترین نمونہ ہے اس میں اشعار ذیل درج ہیں:

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1 تذکرہ خوش نویساں۔ ص ۱۲۹ و آثار الصنادید ص ۱۴۱

2 ظہیر دہلوی، داستان غدر ص ۳۲ (کریسنٹ پرنٹنگ پریس لاہور ۱۹۵۵ء)

تا دو معنی بہر لفظ چنگ و قانون آمدند
لفظ پردازان معنی ساز در بزم بیان

باز اقبالش بصید ملک رنگین چنگ باد
تار چنگ عمرتش باد از گسستن در امان

هم بر آهنگ ثنایش نغمهٔ قانون دهر
هم بوفق مدعایش رسم و قانون زماں

عباداللہ

مرزا عباداللہ بیگ دهلی کے رهنے والے ، والد کا نام مرزا عبداللہ بیگ هے - میر پنجه کش کے شاگرد تھے - میر مرحوم نے بڑی محبت سے خط نستعلیق سکھایا - مسلم الثبوت استاد تھے - خوش نویسی میں ''زمرد رقم'' کے لقب سے مشهور تھے - انقلاب ۱۸۵۷ء کے بعد دهلی چھوڑ کر پٹیالے چلے گئے - سر سید احمد خاں لکھتے هیں که ان کے رتبه کو نستعلیق نویسی میں آغا صاحب کے بعد کوئی نہیں پهنچ سکتا[2] - مرزا عباداللہ کے دو نمونے هیں :

(۱) اول میں '' ذرهٔ بے مقدار عباداللہ ۱۲۷۴ھ '' تحریر هے -

(۲) دوسرے میں '' عباداللہ تلمیذ رشید میر محمد امیر پنجه کش مرحوم '' تحریر هے اور یه مشق '' و احسن کما احسن اللہ الیک '' کی هے -

مفتی صدر الدین آزرده

مفتی صدرالدین آزرده دهلی کے مشهور عالم تھے - حضرت شاه عبدالعزیز اور شاه رفیع الدین وغیره سے تحصیل علم کیا - دهلی کے صدرالصدور رهے - مرزا غالب سے خوب تعلقات تھے - جنگ آزادی ۱۸۵۷ء کے مشهور فتوی جهاد پر دستخط کئے - اس جرم میں نصف جائداد

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1 تذکره خوش نویسان - ص ۷۳

2 آثار انصاریه ۱۲۱ (باب چهارم)

ضبط ہوئی اور بڑی مشکل سے جان بچی۔ ۱۲۸۵ ھ میں انتقال ہوا[1]۔ مفتی صدر الدین آزردہ فن خوش نویسی میں ابو ظفر بہادر شاہ دہلی کے شاگرد تھے۔ مفتی صاحب کا ایک نمونہ تحریر ہے جس میں "ماشاء اللہ لا قوۃ الا با اللہ" تحریر ہے۔

تلمیذ شاہ ظفر خاندان مغلیہ کے آخری تاجدار ابو ظفر بہادر شاہ فن خطاطی میں استاد کامل تھے۔ میر امام الدین علی اور میر جلال الدین کے شاگرد تھے۔ ابو ظفر بہادر شاہ کے بعض کتبے ہماری نظر سے گزرے۔ فن خوش نویسی میں اکثر لوگ بادشاہ کے شاگرد تھے۔ مفتی صدر الدین آزردہ کا اوپر ذکر ہوا۔ بادشاہ کے کسی دوسرے شاگرد کے ایک کتبہ کا نمونہ اور ملا ہے۔ افسوس کہ اس شاگرد کا نام معلوم نہ ہو سکا۔ یہ کتبہ خط طغریٰ میں تحریر ہے۔ عبارت پڑھنے میں نہیں آتی' نام پھٹ گیا ہے "تلمیذ ظفر غفر لہما" صاف لکھا ہوا ہے۔

محمد حسین خط نسخ کے بہترین لکھنے والے تھے۔ احمد تبریزی کے انداز پر لکھتے تھے[2]۔ خط نسخ کا ایک نا مکمل نمونہ ہے جس میں "....... حوالیہ منکل فج عمیق" الٹا لکھا ہوا ہے۔

محمد ہادی اصل رہنے والے دہلی کے تھے مگر لکھنؤ میں سکونت اختیار کر لی تھی۔ لکھنؤ کے مشہور خطاط حافظ ابراہیم کے شاگرد تھے۔ لکھنؤ میں خط نسخ، نستعلیق

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1 مفتی صدر الدین آزردہ کے مزید حالات کے لئے ملاحظہ ہوں:
(۱) رحمان علی، تذکرہ علمائے ہند، ص ۹۳ - ۹۴ (نولکشور پریس لکھنؤ ۱۹۱۴ء)
(۲) فقیر محمد جہلمی، حدائق الحنفیہ، ص ۴۸۱ - ۴۸۴ (نولکشور پریس لکھنؤ ۱۹۰۶ء)
(۳) نواب صدیق حسین خاں، ابجد العلوم، ص ۹۰۳ - ۹۰۴ (مطبع صدیقی بھوپال ۱۲۹۵ھ)
(۴) سرسید احمد خاں بہادر، آثار الصنادید، ص ۴۲-۵۱ باب چہارم (نولکشور پریس ۱۸۷۶ء)

2 تذکرہ خوش نویساں، ص ۱۲۹

اور طغریٰ نویسی میں اپنی مثال نہ رکھتے تھے[1]۔ محمد ھادی کا ایک کتبہ ھے جس میں یہ شعر تحریر ھے :

ھمیشہ بہ نیکی و نیک اختری

بماں بر سر بخت اسکندری

میر علی میر علی ھرات کا باشندہ تھا اس کے باپ کا نام محمود تھا - میر علی، سلطان علی کا شاگرد تھا، تمام علوم میں دستگاہ رکھتا تھا - شعر سے بھی ذوق تھا رفیق تخلص تھا۔ اس کا خط ضرب المثل تھا[1]۔ صاحب تذکرہ خوش نویساں لکھتے[2] ھیں " در نوشتۂ سندی این بزرگ بھم رسیدن خیلے دشوار است .... و مردم در اکثر نوشتہ نام بزرگاں و رفتگاں نوشتہ خلق را در وھم انداختہ اند" اس ذخیرہ میں میر علی کے کتبہ کی ایک نقل ھے- کتبہ میں یہ عبارت لکھی ھے " مطابق نقل نہ گرفتند " نسخ و نستعلیق دونوں تحریروں کے نمونے ھیں - نسخ میں لکھا ھے :

قال امیر المومنین علی ابن ابی طالب علیه (السلام)

ایمان المرء یعرف بایمان اخوان هذ الزمان

اسی طرح " انما المومنون اخوۃ " کی تشریح فارسی نثر میں بخط نستعلیق تحریر ھے جو نا مکمل ھے۔ میر علی کے کتبہ کی نقل کرنے والے نے اپنا نام نہیں لکھا ھے۔

عبدالرشید دیلمی عبدالرشید دیلمی، میر عماد کا ھمشیر زادہ اور شاگرد تھا - فن خطاطی کا امام تھا، شاھجہاں کے زمانہ میں برصغیر ھند پاکستان میں آیا اور دارا شکوہ کی استادی پر مقرر ھوا، اکبر آباد میں سکونت اختیار کی، عمارات عالیشان اور محل سرا وغیرہ تعمیر کرائیں، اکبرآباد ھی میں ۱۰۸۱ھ میں انتقال ھوا - سعیدای اشرف نے قطع تاریخ انتقال کہا ھے :

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1 عبدالحلیم شرر، مشرقی تمدن کا آخری نمونہ (گذشتہ لکھنؤ) ص ۲۱۶، ۲۱۸
(رشید آرٹ پریس، کراچی ۱۹۵۸ء)

شورش و غوغا فتاد از مرگ ایشاں در جہاں
با خبر شد چونکہ پیر عقل از این ماجرا
روئے بامن کرد و گفت اشرف بگو تاریخ آں
چوں ترا بودند ایشاں اوستاد و پیشوا
گفتم از ارشاد پیر عقل در تاریخ آں
بود باہم مردن آقا رشید و صایبا
۱۰۸۱ھ

عبدالرشید دیلمی کی تحریر کے دو نمونے ہیں جو اس کے کتبوں کی نقل معلوم ہوتے ہیں ، پہلے نمونے میں یہ اشعار تحریر ہیں :

صورت معنی فطرت معنی ایجاد خلق
سرفراز نسل آدم نفس خیر المرسلین
مقصد تنزیل بلغ مظہر انوار غیب
مقطع یتلوہ شاہد مطلع حبل المتین
صاحب یوفون بالنذر آفتاب انما
قرۃ العین لعمرک نازش روح الامین
در جہاں از راہ حشمت چوں جہانے در جہاں
در زمین از راہ رفعت آسمانے بر زمین

ان اشعار کے نیچے یہ عبارت تحریر ہے :

" الراجی الی اللہ المتین فقیر عبدالرشید دیلمی در مستقر الخلافتہ آگرہ فی ۱۰۸۷ھ دریں شیوۂ آغائی بر دستہ حافظ نوراللہ است "

تذکرۂ خوش نویساں میں دیلمی کی وفات ۱۰۸۱ھ تحریر ہے جب کہ اوپر قطعہ تاریخ انتقال لکھا گیا ہے اور تاریخ محمدی میں ۱۰۸۵ھ تحریر ہے۔ لیکن اس کتبہ سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ عبدالرشید دیلمی ۱۰۸۷ھ تک زندہ تھا۔

دوسرے کتبہ پر صرف اتنا تحریر ہے :

" مشقه العبد عبدالرشید غفر ذنبه "

(ب)

احمد یار بیگ دهلی کا باشنده ، فن خوش نویسی میں ماهر کامل تھا ۔ اس خطاط کے طغروں کے پانچ نمونے هیں جن کی تفصیل یه ہے :

(۱) ۱۲۶۹ھ کا تحریر کرده ہے پہلی سطر میں ہے " الدال علی الخیر کفا عله " ۔ دوسری سطر پڑھنے میں نہیں آتی ۔

(۲) دوسرا نمونه ۱۲۶۹ھ کا ہے اس میں " استعینو علی الحوائج بالکتمان " تحریر ہے ۔

(۳) ۱۲۷۰ھ میں تحریر هوا ہے اور اس میں یه عبارت لکھی ہے " کل شی یرجع الی اصله " اور ایک شعر بھی لکھا ہے

کبوتر با کبوتر باز با باز
کند همجنس با همجنس پرواز

(۴) ۱۲۷۱ھ میں تحریر هوا ہے اور اس میں یه شعر تحریر ہے

یه کھودو جلد بدرالدین[1] نگین پر
امین الدین رہے احمد کے دین پر

(۵) یه ۱۲۷۰ھ کا نمونه ہے عبارت پڑھنے میں نہیں آتی ۔

احمد یار بیگ نے اپنا نام اسطرح لکھا ہے :

" مشقه عبدالمذنب احمد یار بیگ خاں "

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1 بدرالدین مہر کن، میر پنجه کش کے شاگرد تھے ۔ مہر کنی میں نظیر نہیں رکھتے تھے ۔ دریبه کلاں دهلی میں مکان تھا ۔ بدرالدین کی بنوائی هوئی مسجد (۱۲۸۷ھ) دهلی میں موجود ہے ۔ تفصیلی حالات کے لئے ملاحظه هو :

تذکرہ خوش نویساں ، ص ۸۴، ۸۵

آثار الصنادید ، ص ۱۲۲ (باب چہارم)

بشیرالدین احمد دهلوی ، واقعات دارالحکومت دهلی ، حصه دوم ، ص ۲۱۳ (شمسی مشین پریس آگرہ ۱۹۱۹ء)

محمد فاضل

اس شخص کا کچھ حال معلوم نہ ھو سکا۔ اس خطاط کی تحریر کا ایک نمونہ بشکل خاکہ ھے جس میں درج ذیل شعر لکھا ھے:

چوں کنم وصف جود تو تحریر
ھمچو دست زمانہ زر بچکد

حسن شاملو

اس کا بھی کوئی حال معلوم نہ ھو سکا۔ اس خطاط کا بھی ایک کتبہ ھے جس میں نسخ و نستعلیق دونوں خطوں کے نمونے ھیں۔ یہ شخص اپنے فن میں مہارت تامہ رکھتا تھا۔

محمد انور خاں

محمد انور خاں کے چار نمونے ھیں جن میں سے دو ۱۲۸۱ھ کے لکھے ھوئے ھیں۔ ان میں سے ایک میں یہ رباعی لکھی ھے:

اے تیر غمت را دل عشاق نشانہ
خلقے بتو مشغول تو غائب ز میانہ
گہ معتکف دیرم و گہ ساکن مسجد
یعنی کہ ترا می طلبم خانہ بخانہ

اور دو نمونے ناتمام ھیں۔ محمد انور خاں نے اپنا نام اسطرح لکھا ھے:

"مشقہ راجی الغفران محمد انور خان غفرلہ"

میر لطیف الدین

میر لطیف الدین کے باپ کا نام نعیم الدین ھے یہ ایک طغریٰ ھے۔ عبارت کے اندر مسجد کا نمونہ بنایا گیا ھے۔ عبارت پڑھنے میں نہیں آتی۔ یہ نامکمل تحریر ھے اور ایک قسم کا خاکہ ھے۔ بعض خط پنسل کے بھی ھیں۔ حاشیے پر ھدایات دی ھوئی ھیں کہ کس خط اور کس رنگ سے اس کو مکمل کیا جائے۔ یہ طغریٰ رمضان ۱۲۷۷ھ میں تحریر کیا گیا۔

رضا علی حال معلوم نہ ہو سکا۔ اس کی تحریر کے تین نمونے ہیں:

(۱) عبارت نامکمل ہے۔

(۲) شعر کا مصرعہ اول مکمل ہے جو یہ ہے

"عمرت دراز باد کہ ریزد برائے خلق"

(۳) یہ مصرعہ تحریر ہے

"آنچہ خوباں همه دارند تو تنہا داری"

یہ شعر بھی لکھا ہوا ہے

من درویش را کشتی بعمرہ
الہی تا قیامت زندہ باشی

یہ تحریر ۱۲۸۳ھ کی ہے۔ اس کتبہ پر یہ عبارت تحریر ہے

"بخدمت محب درویشاں، عالیقدر نواب یاسین
محمد خاں دام عزته و حشمته"

یہ نمونے نستعلیق کے ہیں۔

میر کرام الدین ان صاحب کا کچھ حال معلوم نہ ہو سکا۔ مشق کے دو نمونے ہیں۔

(۱) مفرد حروف کی مشق ہے۔ پیمائش کے لئے نقاط بھی دئے ہوئے ہیں۔

(۲) مرکب حروف کی مشق ہے۔ نقاط اس میں بھی دئے ہوئے ہیں۔ دونوں پر لکھا ہوا ہے "مشقه میر کرام الدین"

عنایت حسین دھلی کے باشندے تھے فن خوش نویسی میں کمال حاصل تھا "حوالیہ منکل فج عمیق" کو الٹا لکھا ہے۔ نیچے یہ عبارت تحریر ہے۔

"مشقه عنایت حسین غفرله، ساکن دھلی۔ چهارم ماه جمادی الثانی ۱۲۸۶ھ تحریر نموده شد"

حافظ عبدالحق

حافظ عبدالحق صاحب نے کسی استاد کی وصلی کی مشق کی ہے جو انہیں عبدالستار خاں کے ذریعہ سے ملی ہے۔ ان دونوں بزرگوں کے حالات معلوم نہ ہو سکے۔ یہ اشعار تحریر ہیں :

رفتم بسیر باغ دویدم بہر چمن
از بہر چیدن گل تاریخ پنجتن

ہر غنچہ را کشودم و دیدم بہر گلے
تاریخ شاں نیافتم الا بہ یاسمن

اول دو حرف بہر محمد و فاطمہ
آخر سہ حرف بہر حسین و علی حسن

یہ خط نسخ کا نمونہ ہے۔

عبدالعزیز اعجاز

عبدالعزیز اعجاز کا کچھ حال معلوم نہ ہو سکا۔ خط نستعلیق کا ایک نمونہ تحریر ہے۔ جس کی عبارت یہ ہے۔

"عز من قنع و ذل من طمع"

محمد جعفر

خط نسخ میں ماہر کامل ہے۔ صرف ایک نمونہ خطاطی ہے جسکی یہ رباعی ہے :

ناد علیا مظہر العجائب تجدہ عونالک فی النوائب
کلہم و غم سینجلی بولایتک یا علی یا علی

نیچے تحریر ہے "مشقہ فقیر حقیر خادم الفقراء محمد جعفر"

سید غالب علی

سید غالب علی کا کچھ حال معلوم نہ ہو سکا مگر خط نستعلیق و شکستہ میں مہارت تامہ رکھتے تھے۔ دو نمونے نستعلیق کے ہیں :

(۱) اس میں "الہی تا جہاں باشد تو باشی" تحریر ہے۔

(۲) دوسرے میں یہ شعر لکھا ہے۔

"ز نگوله بگوش کشتهٔ ناز   میداد به قم باذنی آواز"

اس میں ایک شعر خط شکستہ بھی ہے جو پڑھنے میں نہیں آیا۔ دونوں کتبوں میں یہ نام اس طرح تحریر ہے۔

"کتبه سید غالب علی غفر ذنوبه"

محمد صالح | خط نسخ میں ماہر تھے ایک نمونہ ہے جس میں یہ رباعی تحریر ہے:

اے معدن لطف و جود و احسان و کرم
باشی بجہاں ہمیشہ باطبل و علم
جاہ تو ز جاہ جم فزوں تر گردد
عمر تو بعمر خضر بادا توام

سید محمد صالح

محمد عارف | خط نسخ و نستعلیق میں استاد تھے۔ صرف ایک نمونہ ان کی تحریر کا ہے جس میں یہ رباعی لکھی ہوئی ہے:

ناد علیا مظہر العجائب   تجدہ عونالک فی النوائب
کلہم و غم سینجلی   ینبوتک یا محمد بولایتک یا علی

ان دونوں سطروں کے درمیان درج ذیل حدیث تحریر ہے:

"قال رسول اللہ صلی اللہ علیہ و سلم لا تکثر الکلام بغیر ذکر اللہ فان ابعد الخلق بغیر ذکر اللہ"

یہ تمام عبارت خط نسخ میں لکھی ہے۔

اصغر علی خاں | خط نستعلیق میں کمال حاصل تھا۔ افسوس کہ حالات نہ مل سکے۔ ایک نمونہ نستعلیق کا ہے جس میں یہ رباعی تحریر ہے:

یا رب کمال عافیتت بر دوام باد
اقبال و دولت و شرف مستدام باد

سال و مہت مبارک و روز و شبت بخیر

بخت بلند و گردش گیتی بکام باد

نیچے لکھا ہے۔ ''کتبہ اصغر علی خاں''

ہیرالال معجز رقم | یہ خوش نویس بھوپال کے رہنے والے تھے۔ انکی تحریر کے دو نمونے ہیں :

(۱) عربی خط ثلث کے لکھنے کے قواعد تحریر ہیں اور آخر میں یہ عبارت لکھی ہے :

''قواعد عربی خط ثلث از ہیرا لال معجز رقم

خوش رقم رائے امانی در بلدۂ بھوپال نوشتہ شد'' ۱۲۶۰ ھ

(۲) یہ کتبہ ۱۲۸۴ ھ کا لکھا ہوا ہے۔ خط نستعلیق ہے بعض جگہ سے کرم خوردہ ہے اسلئے صاف پڑھنے میں نہیں آیا۔

رحیم اللہ | دھلی کے باشندے اور آغا مرزا کے شاگرد تھے۔ نستعلیق میں کمال حاصل تھا۔ ان کا ایک نمونہ تحریر ہے جس میں درج ذیل رباعی لکھی ہے :

الٰہی عاصیم استغفر اللہ — توی فریاد رس الحمد اللہ

ندارم ہیچ گونہ توشۂ راہ — بجز لا تقنطو من رحمتہ اللہ

نیچے تحریر ہے ''مشقہ رحیم اللہ غفرلہ''

محمد عبدالمعین | خط نستعلیق میں کمال حاصل تھا۔ ایک نمونہ تحریر ملا ہے اس میں ایک واقعہ نقل کیا گیا ہے جس میں سکندر نے ارسطا طالیس سے سوال کیا ہے اور اس نے اس سوال کا جواب دیا ہے۔ آخر میں تحریر ہے :

''محمد عبدالمعین غفراللہ ذنوبہ ۱۲۶۷ ھ''

محمد قاسم | خط شکستہ کے ماہر تھے۔ ایک تحریر ہے جس میں کچھ نصائح لکھے ہوئے ہیں۔ آخر میں تحریر ہے :

" محمد قاسم عفی اللہ عنہ ، بپاس خاطر سعادت
.... محمد معظم علی نگاشتہ تاریخ بستم شہر
ربیع الاول سنہ یکہزار و دو صد و شصت و
هفت هجری روز شنبہ ۱۲۶۷ ھ "

ذوالفقار احمد[1] | خط شکستہ میں کمال رکھتے تھے - شکستہ تحریر کا ایک نمونہ ہے جس میں گلستان سعدی رح کی ابتدائی سطور لکھی گئی ہیں -

" منت مرخدائے عزوجل را کہ طاعتش .... نخل باسق شدہ "

ترقیمہ یوں ہے :

" مورخہ بست و نہم ۲۹ ربیع الاول ۱۲۷۹ ھ ذوالفقار احمد عفی عنہ "

میر قاسم علی | بھوپال کے ساکن ، نواب شاہجہاں بیگم والیہ بھوپال کے استاد تھے - بیگم صاحبہ کے نام کا یہ طغریٰ ہے :

" نواب سلطان جہاں بیگم صاحبہ بہادر "

نیچے یہ عبارت تحریر ہے :

" نقل طغریٰ میر قاسم علی استاد نواب شاہجہاں
بیگم صاحبہ والیہ بھوپال دام اقبالہا "

(ج)

(۱) محمد (صلی اللہ علیہ و سلم) کا لفظ (دونوں جانب سے) تحریر ہے اور یہ عبدالرحیم کی وصلی کا چربہ ہے جو منشی محمد امجد کے فرزند تھے اور یہ خط غبار کا نمونہ ہے -

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1 مولانا ذوالفقار احمد سارنگ پور کے رہنے والے تھے - بھوپال کے ممتاز عالم اور نواب صدیق حسن خاں کے ممتاز مصاحبین؟ سے تھے - انہوں نے کئی کتابوں کے ترجمے کئے ہیں جن میں سے حکایات الصالحین ' طے الفراسخ اور جامع العلوم (ملفوظات مخدوم جہانیاں جہاں گشت) بہت مشہور ہیں - آخری زمانے میں نواب سلطان جہاں بیگم نے انہیں صدر العلماء کا خطاب دیا تھا آپ نیک نفس اور ممتاز بزرگ تھے

(۲) خط گلزار کا نمونہ ھے اور مولوی تراب خاں صاحب (استاد میاں نظیر اکبر آبادی) کے طغرے کی نقل ھے۔ دوسرے نمونہ میں "و من یتوکل علی اللہ فھو حسبہ" تحریر ھے۔

(۳) خط نستعلیق کا بہترین نمونہ ھے کسی خوش نویس نے صاحبزادہ محمد علی اکبر کے لئے چند رباعیاں لکھی تھیں۔ جیسا کہ درج ذیل عبارت سے معلوم ھوتا ھے۔ ان میں سے ایک رباعی یہ ھے:

اے وسعت سینہ ات فزوں تر ز فلک
ادراک دروں تو بروں تر ز فلک
دست کرم خویش چو آری ....
چوں ریگ بیابان بدے چندیں لک

(۴) کلمہ طیبہ "لا الہ الا اللہ محمد رسول اللہ" خط نستعلیق میں تحریر ھے۔ منشی غلام احمد صاحب کی وصلی سے اس کا چربہ اول منشی عبدالرحیم ولد منشی محمد امجد نے لیا۔ پھر اس سے اس کاغذ پر لیا گیا۔

(۵) پنسل کا عکس ھے نیچے یہ عبارت تحریر ھے:
"نقل جملہ اوراق ھذا از کتاب حافظ امجد علی داماد میاں سراج صاحب از معرفت تلمیذ رشید فضل الرحمان بمشکل تمام گرفتہ نمودہ شد و دریں فرقے نماندہ است معہ کرسی وغیرہ عکس برداشتہ و صحیح نمودہ ام"

(۶) عیدالاضحیٰ کے موقعہ کی "عیدی" ھے خط نستعلیق میں تحریر ھے۔ عیدی یہ ھے:

مبارک باد بر تو عید قربان
ھزاراں شادیت باد از یزداں

بزیر دشنہ ات خصم بد اندیش
از و قربان برنگ گوسپنداں

نیچے یہ عبارت تحریر ہے : " بخدمت برہان المشائخ سراج الدین صاحب زید عرفانکم پذیر اباد "

(۷) " یاسین محمد خاں بہادر صاحب دام اقبالہ " بخط طغریٰ تحریر ہے - یہ عبارت لکھی ہے :

" این جملہ نقل از معرفت سید انور علی صاحب استاد جناب میاں یاسین محمد خانصاحب طلبیدہ .... "

(۸) ایک طغریٰ بشکل شجرہ ہے جو کہ عبدالکریم کی وصلی سے نقل کیا گیا ہے عبارت صاف پڑھنے میں نہیں آئی - " نواب محمد .... بہادر " لکھا ہے -

(۹) محمد اشرف نو مسلم خوش نویس[1] - بھوپال کے باشندے تھے - کوئی نمونہ نہیں ہے مگر عبارت ذیل لکھی ہے -

" این جملہ نقل از کتاب صد پند سود مند لقمان حکیم دستخطی جناب مرزا عباداللہ بیگ صاحب خوش نویس تلمیذ رشید میاں امیر پنجہ کش مرحوم کہ محمد اشرف نو مسلم از صاحبزادہ میاں علی حسن صاحب آوردہ ، الفاظ جوڑ جملہ عکس و چربہ گرفتہ شد ۱۳۰۱ھ "

(۱۰) تقطیع خط ثلث - یہ عبارت تحریر ہے :

" این جملہ تقطع ہائے خط ثلث از وصلی ہائے قلمی کہ در تاج محل در چوکھٹہ ہا نصب بودند بمعرفت اصغر علی خاں داروغہ نوشتہ بودند فقط "

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1 شاہ محمد اشرف بھوپال کے صاحب سجادہ مشائخ میں سے تھے جن کے بکثرت مرید بھوپال میں اب بھی موجود ہیں -

(د)

۳۱ عدد خط نستعلیق کے ایسے نمونے ہیں جن پر خوش نویسوں کے نام وغیرہ کچھ نہیں ہیں۔ صرف رباعی کی نقل پر اکتفا کیا جاتا ہے:

۱- اے از کرمت امیدوارم جز رحمت تو کس ندارم
رحمے کن و دستگیر من شو اے فیض رسان ہر دو عالم

۲- ان فی بستاننا نا رنجنا من جنی نا رنجنا نا راًجنی

۳- کہ حنا بست دست یار مرا کہ ز کف برد اختیار مرا

۴- خط مسلسل میں عبارت تحریر ہے جو پڑھنے میں نہیں آئی۔

۵- تو بکار کسے نمی آئی بکنار کسے نمی آئی
بچہ امید می توان مردن بمزار کسے نمی آئی

۶- مہر فلک سعادت و اقبالے با قدر تو ایں مرتبہ نبود عالے
جاوید بملک جاہ باشی ... . پری ز حال مبادا ....

۷- بفرقش سلک گوہر ہمچو رنجم تو گوئی شب درآمد در تبسم

۸- کہ سیہ کرد چشم یار مرا کہ سیہ کرد روزگار مرا

۹- دوش در حلقۂ زلف تو دلم جامی کرد
ہر دم از ہر شکن تو گرہے وا می کرد

۱۰- گردوں بمراد بخت فیروزت باد
در ہفتہ سہ عید و چار نوروزت باد

۱۱- بریخت پنجۂ مرجان ز ابر مروارید
قمر ز پشت شب مشکبار پیدا کرد

۱۲- کسے کو بے وصالش مردہ باشد
معاذ اللہ چہ حسرت بردہ باشد

۱۳- "من اللہ فتح قریب"

چار نمونے خط نسخ کے ہیں جن کی رباعیات درج ذیل ہیں:

۱- دل گر .... در پردہ دل آرائے ہست
هستی قطره دلیل است که دریائے ہست
هر که در ملک عدم رفت نیامد بوجود
ظاهرا در پس این پرده تماشائے ہست

۲- عید رمضان صبح طرب ایجاد است
گل تازه چمن شگفته دلها شاد است
دستے که به تسلیم تو دارم بر سر
گلدسته مضمون مبارکباد است

۳- یہ کتبہ اکبر شاہ ثانی کے جشن بست و یکم (تخت نشینی) کے موقعہ پر لکھا گیا ہے:

همیشه خواهش اهل جهان برب ودود
که شهر یاری اقالیم هر چهار حدود
ز جشن بست و یکم تا هزار سال بدهر
بشاه اکبر فخر شهان شود معمور

اس رباعی کے ہر چہار جانب مندرجہ ذیل اشعار خط نسخ میں تحریر ہیں:

منبع لطف و عنایت سایه ذات اله
حامی شرع محمد شاه اکبر بادشاه
خدا یا تو این شاه درویش دوست
که آسائش خلق در ظل اوست
یا الهی سلطنت شاه ارزانی بود
تا ابد روشن چراغ ظل سبحانی بود
بسے سال بر خلق پائنده دار
بتوفیق طاعت دلش زنده دار

۴- ایک نمونہ ہے جس میں ''کلما دخل علیہا ذکر یا المحراب'' '' ھذا مفتاح الجنۃ '' '' و انک لعلی خلق عظیم '' '' و ما ارسلناک الا رحمۃ للعالمین '' اور اللہ ، محمد ، ابوبکر ، عمر ، عثمان ، علی ، حسن ، حسین تحریر ہے ۔ یہ بمبئی کی ایک مطبوعہ وصلی کی نقل ہے ساتھ ہی ہدایات درج ہیں کہ کس طرح ان کو تحریر کیا جائے ۔

تین خط غبار کے نمونے ہیں :

۱- محمد (صلی اللہ علیہ و سلم) تحریر ہے ۔

۲- ایک طغریٰ ہے جس میں بسم اللہ الرحمان الرحیم بشکل بط تحریر ہے ۔

۳- کسی کے نام کا طغریٰ ہے ایسا اندازہ ہوتا ہے کہ نواب شاہجہاں بیگم صاحبہ (بھوپال) کا ہے ۔

۴- ایک طغریٰ بصورت انسان ہے جس میں چاروں خلفاء راشدین کے نام تحریر ہیں ۔

۵- ایک طغریٰ بشکل بط ہے ۔ نا مکمل نمونہ ہے ۔

خط گلزار کے چار نمونے ہیں :

۱- قل کل یعمل علی شاکلتہ ۔ الٹا تحریر ہے ۔

۲- محمد (صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم) تحریر ہے ۔

۳- '' و من یتوکل علی اللہ فھو حسبہ '' کے دو نمونے ہیں ۔

تین متفرق نمونے ہیں ۔

۱- مشق کا نمونہ ہے جس میں مرکب الفاظ کی مشق کی گئی ہے ۔

۲- حاشیہ کی بیلوں کا نمونہ ہے ۔

۳- خط نسخ میں آیتہ الکرسی تحریر ہے ۔ دو سطروں میں مفرد و مرکب الفاظ کی مشق کا نمونہ ہے ۔

